RY 10. seen why a white man and a black man inter that a man may entire thout regard to color. The color of the colo

R BLUNDER.

otentate, His Holiness ased to take the pecu-vorld into his deepest an Encyclical Letter own feelings, and the st of mankind. It is s, Primates, Archbish-communion with ven the gratis repose of some recalcitrant e half a dozen centu-on and Victor Eman-

y to come down upon used up. Did not Inp-Augustus, in the matAgnes de Meran, and ic king to give up the cit the wife he hated?
e the blessing or plague uppen to be, naturally rat wife, when there is a se to their matrimopple were disposed to be were soon made to arr will than theirs, and beneath the iron yoke or will than theirs, and beneath the iron yoke the Roman smithy, see heresy was washed who were worse used the Jews were by a Ro-mation, prince or pease Pope, was promptly of the procession of the downward road in ons. It was given to bind and to loose, and over any world to lose nt of exercise. They ning, through constant literally put their feet used scourges to be ap-, the fashions of which The fashions of which Popes are as much exity as if they were the time came when the f the spirituality; and rife who was alm

to be his daughter, he g the Pope about the ng thinks of troubling -ninth wife to his bed, the Emperor had the key at the very time rce, and the master of t use them to let himage. In our time, we strip the Pope of his compunction than was se when he seized the to the remonstrating
go spin!" We canliking such treatment,
and therefore when he skinned alive, we are a bitterly for objecting him scream, screaming ome thing in sufferers But even screaming o time; and the com-al Letter is, that it is s that of the antediluy pleasure in writing any as Junius, or an Presidency; but let age in which they are ember 8th, 1864, might il production, had Pio n rest against some of world. But what is to t is devoted to denunpinions which particu-ent day "? How does g down opinions that particularly predomi-trming candor, that all an end to the particustrous opinions have precise measure of his against the pricks as o kick. The men of

knows how many le-In his past failures the o kick. The men of on their course by the e, whose harmless rape gress of the Italians to the may soon be driven worse prospects of get-last he went to Gaëta. im. The moving cause co-Italian Treaty which no Italian Treaty which angdom of Italy toward not for the threatened already lost, the Pope ake care of itself, and who was ignorant of the dred years. But the e is too much for his sterical wrath over the that even he must see lity is, perhaps, to be by by his age; but why lians make him behave able for the display of the Encyclical Letter, ry as that which someth ry as that which John the Pope who sought if be could is evident

o if he could is evident er:—"There are many n, 'that the best condition the penalties of law cithe penalties of law cithe penalties of law cithe penalties of law cithe penalties of law cither penalties of law cither as way, fagots deduction is legitimate, have his way, fagots do be as high as steaks, tiful a supply of road the law cither as the law cither as the penalties of conscience and that Pope characterimself calls is an 'erroto the safety of the doubt, it is, though not the result of 'deliriat Napoleon III. is and put forth an Encyclic a disgrace to the age; cessarily belongs to the liters are employed in a fer in safety at home, a he could not remain a temporal condition.—

THE LIBERATOR -18 PUBLISHED -EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

-AT-WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM NO. 6. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

TERMS - Three dollars and fifty cents in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for twenty solars, if payment is made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters

elating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be elating to the PAID), to the General Agent. Advertisements of a square and over inserted three inci at ten cents per line ; less than a square, \$1.50 for Yearly and half yearly advertisements

serted on reasonable terms. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are borised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Pinancial muittee, but are not responsible for any debts of the vis :- WENDELL PRILLIPS, EDNOND QUINCY, ED-CSD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WE LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."-J. Q. ADAMS. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all musicipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST;

and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive

management of the subject, not only the Pausidant or THE UNITED STATES, but the Commander of the Army, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-

CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. ... From the instant

that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, rervile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers

of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPRED

WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to

a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war, power; and when your country is actually in war, whether

it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to come, you the war, and west carny it on, ac-

conding to the LAWS OF WAR ; and by the laws of war,

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-

tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial

array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-

VOL. XXXV. NO. 7.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1776.

The Liberator.

WASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. ANNUAL MEETING.

Phonographically reported by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON. THURSDAY EVENING, Jan. 26.

SPEECH OF ANDREW T. FOSS. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,-I have known his Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from the year

of its commencement. For the larger number of the rears of its age, I was not connected with it, though claim to have been connected with the anti-slavery movement from the first; but, for the first fifteen rears and more, I was connected with it in a clerical vay. I have, however, for the last twelve years, been in the habit of standing on this platform, and of looking into the faces of the men and women who comnose the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; and as look back upon the past, when it was with the greatest difficulty we could obtain a house in which to speak eran audience to hear us, when reproach and contomely were continually cast upon us, when we were vading through deep waters of discouragement, when the whole heavens were dark around us, and when nutterings of wrath were heard, like distant thunder, and sometimes breaking at our very feet,-I say, sir, when I think of the great change that has taken place. my heart exults, and I say with the apostle Paul, that shether the Gospel of Anti-Slavery has been preached of envy or of good-will, in the success of this great canse I do rejoice, and will rejoice.

My fellow-citizens, the time is not far back in the

distance when I refused to hold any connection with the American Government, other than that which I was obliged to hold. I gave it no willing support ; gave it no countenance; gave it no vote; but gave it such words of criticism and rebuke as my powers per-Power rebelled, and war commenced, I entertained he liveliest hope that the whole North would very son he at a dead-lock with the Slave Power. I saw that take place, and I have seen the terrible wrestle going on from that day to this. And do you think, sir, that my anti-slavery heart can be other than joyful when I see the Government, the church, and the minds of men here in the North turned in the direction of anti-slavery, and all of them engaged in a tertible struggle with the Slave Power? Having labored and toiled and hoped and prayed for thirty years to (Applause.) And why do I do it? I believe, sir, a great deal in the power of instinct-in men, as well as of this American Government in putting down the reclion; and in putting down the rebellion their in-Blact tells them slavery is forever destroyed. There is the instinct of the slave. Then, loyal men all over the land are guided by their instincts in the same direction. Now, how is it with the slaveholder? His instincts guide him, and he is a bater of Abraham Lincoln, a hater of the Government, and hopes and prays and fights that the Government may be overthrown. How is it with all the copperheads in the land? Every one of them, guided by his instincts, also, is agains Abraham Lincoln. Now, whatever reverence I may lave for the friends with whom I have labored, if they hoose to place themselves on the side of those whose instincts guide them against the Government, and are opposed to the colored man whose instincts guide him aways to the Government as his ark of safety, I tell arm uplifted to strike the head of the monster, slavery; and if, with any atrength of mine, I can add vigor to that arm, thus uplifted, it shall not be withheld. By no word of detraction will I weaken the power of the Government, or weaken the faith of the

people in it. Now, Mr. President, during the first year and a half very little that I could approve. We were bidden to lope; we were told that Abraham Lincoln was an lonest man; we were told that all would come out hight. We believed it, and we believe not in vain. Ivo years passed away, and then came the Proclamafon of the first of January, 1863, and since then there la been wave after wave of anti-slavery success rollagin upon us, until now we see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, Hayti and Liberia acknowledged as among the nations of the earth, and having home at our capital, the fugitive slave law repealed, three of the slave States already free, and others rapidbecoming so-and shall I not rejoice !

Sir, I want to keep up the anti-slavery testimony. I an desirous exceedingly that this Society should not cene its work until slavery is entirely dead. I think twill die. If we should lie down and go to sleep, if he Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should go out feristence this hour, I think slavery would go down bit then, I don't know that fact; I think so. I den't hear to run any risk at all. I mean to keep on laboris wall slavery is dead. I don't mean to be cheated poor Joe Stillings was in regard to his fox. The tenning fox had stolen his balt two or three times it being caught; but one morning Joe found the in the trap, and picked up a stick, and hit him on head, and the fox fell down, as he thought, dead. threw him one side, and turned round to fix his no, and when he looked up, the fox was forty rods taking for the woods at the top of his speed. aughter.) I don't mean to be cheated in that way. nean to be sure the enemy is dead before I leave off triking. I shall act on the principle that the boy did to was found beating a dead dog. "What are you ating him for ?" said a man who came up. "Don't you see he is dead ?" "Yes," said the boy, "but he t sheep-killer, and I mean to let all dogs that is sheep know that they must suffer punishment af-

criticised all these men, and it is asked that the same The tide is now running all one way. criticism shall be given to Abraham Lincoln that was Now, in regard to the change of sentiment in the men who have passed away. Now, sir, things have changed. The direction of the Government was then there was no bright spot in the political horizon; it ent-men who influence and guide and mould public was one dense, dark cloud. But how is it now ? Now, sentiment in New Hampshire. I sat up in the gallery the Government is on the high road to anti-slavery; and looked down upon them. As I sat there, I saw now, all its powers are against slavery, and in favor one old man, who, four years ago, was pro-slavery, of freedom; and shall we not cheer the Government rise in his seat, and read a resolution, instructing our on? Shall I stand howling on the track of the Gov- delegation in Congress to use their influence to have ernment, letting its imperfections, whatever they may the bill amending the Constitution, and forever abolbe, fill the whole range of my vision, and not be able | ishing slavery, passed, and offered to the people for to see a single good act? Heaven forbid! I want to their ratification this winter; and, if the present Concheer on the Government ; I want to cheer on every general, every naval officer, every soldier, every sail- ble the new Congress immediately after the 4th of or, every marine, and everybody who is contending March, and have the work done. That resolution with slavery. I think that, in this change of condition, there should be a change in our line of policy. We thought to free the slave by opposing the Gov- fifty votes, probably, in the State of New Hampshire the Government—if not by the Constitution, then Government-if not by the Constitution, then over it or through it-any way to get the slave his hold a new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwellfreedom. In our changed circumstances, we can do it eth righteonsness, are our inheritance! When I came by sustaining the Union, the Constitution, and the down out of that gallery, I met men who, I have no willing to do it by co-operating with your country, as not do it themselves, they did not object to having it you were to do it by overthrowing your Government in the former time? Moreover, it is to be remarked, that me by the hand, and said, "Did you ever expect to while the first two years of Mr. Lincoln's administramitted me to do. When, four years ago, the Slave tion were not very severely criticised by us, when he most deserved criticism, the last two years, when he has been doing his best, anti-slaverywise, meet with the severest criticism! I do not understand that.

Now, I want to inquire, very briefly, what is our duty in this crisis? I do not understand that there is any division among us on the main point. Mr. Phillips everywhere. I say says—"The ballot for the negro." Mr. Garrison said gladly recognize it. it thirty years ago, and never has said anything elsesays it to-night. All the privileges that belong to the citizen are to be given to the emancipated slave. That turers had left the anti-slavery field, and were elecwe demand. We ask nothing short of that. What is we the very things that my eyes now behold, shall the difference, then? Why, Mr. Garrison says: "We lot rejoice to behold them? Sir, I now give to the can have emancipation. That is the greater act: the minding my business, when a gentleman, one of the remment of the United States my hearty support. greater includes the less. Let us secure that, and we get a foothold to step up higher," If, in the past four the came to me, and asked me if I would speak during rest deal in the power of instinct—in men, as well as standards. I find that the instinct of the slave leads in to regard Abraham Lincoln as his friend. He hinto regard Abraham Lincoln as his friend. He anti-slavery government; if we have been able to tried," said he, "and don't want to." "I am a Garhers the flag; he loves the army; he clings to it as change the entire policy of the Government; if we risonian," I said, "and if I go, I must go as a Garrihe only hope. I think his instinct is correct. The have arrayed all its influence and all its power on the sonian." "That is just what we want you to do," are clung to the American Government. They and begin the next administration with nothing to do much of a bargain either. There was not a word but to get for the negro his political franchise, can we said about pay. He said, "We want you to go;"

much in the past four? I have no doubt of it. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say a I did not understand that to be electioneering, any word in regard to Gen. Banks and his policy. I do more than this platform, for the last thirty years. not know that I understand it, but I think I do. In the first place, Gen. Banks is down there in Louisiana for the sins of her husband, at all, for I think that age. We do not know, we cannot know, all the diffiresponsibility. That he should have erred in some things was natural; that in his main intent and purpose he was right, I have no more doubt than I have that the sun is shining in the heavens this day. (Applause.) Now, here was a large colored population. Friend Douglass says,-" Let them alone." say so. Here were the white men; they had the advantage of the blacks. Who owns the land? The white men. The blacks are to be the laborers, the sue or be sued; they cannot give testimony in the courts. What then? Gen. Banks consults their wishes, and asks them, by a committee of colored men, what they want. They tell him they want employment and wages; they want clothing and food for children-and he provides It all. The wages are fixed of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, there was at \$8 a month, including provisions and clothing, medical treatment, maintenance for their families, and schools for their children. That is as good as 820 a month, at least. Now, where was the necessity of meddling at all ?

Mr. Douglass. Allow me to state, that prior to letting them alone, I want justice meted out to them; and if justice were done to those blacks in Louisiana, they would not need the interference of Gen. Banks to

find places for them to work. (Applause.) recurs, and it is a very important one, how was that

justice to be obtained for them? Mr. Douglass. Let them vote.

Mr. Foss. I want to know if Gen. Banks is an very difficult problem to solve. His object in fixing the wages of the black man was to be sure that he had wages; for if he had been "let alone," he could not tion. He threw around the slave the protection of the military power, and took care that the rascally mas-I take of it. (Applause.) It was not that he wanted to oppress the negro; it was not in derogation of the negro's rights; it was to see to it that the white man now, herein I rejoice, and will rejoice. fulfilled his obligation—that those rascally slavehold-

ter, death." (Laughter and applause.) So I am for of the Government that the slave have all his rights; continuing to smite until we are sure that death has but if we cannot get them, for God's sake don't let ensued. But how am I to do this? Now, there is a us refuse emancipation, if we can get it, for then we comparison instituted between former times and these. can quickly step to a higher and still higher elevation In former times, we criticised the Government, Mr. I want the act of emancipation, in order to secure to Webster, Mr. Choate, Mr. Everett-whose sun has the negro his vote. It is an essential step towards just gone down in glory (loud applause); he lived that; and if we get every slave free, I have no doubt long enough to embalm himself in the hearts of the -I was going to say, I would pledge my life, and I American people for ever, and when we have all done will, for I have not more than ten years to live, any that, we can afford to die ;-in former times, I say, we way-that he will get his vote, and that speedily.

SEVALES

MORSES

M'OTHER

13 Lar: 10

given to Mr. Everett, or Mr. Webster, or any of those North. Take an illustration. I went into a Conven towards slavery. There was nothing hopeful; ernor. There were nearly seven hundred men pres gress would not do it, asking the President to assem clamation. Four years ago, you could not have got Government. In Heaven's name, sir, are you not as doubt, have thrown rotten eggs at me-or, if they did live to see this day ?" All joy, all gladness !

I spoke forty times during the last canvass for the election of President. I spoke to audiences of from 400 up to 10,000 at a time, and everywhere I uttered just as clear and strong anti-slavery sentiments as I ever did on this platform; and the stronger my antislavery utterences were, the louder the applause-

everywhere. I say, there is a mighty change! I A word or two personal to myself. It was said

this afternoon, by Mrs. Foster, that some of our lectioneering. Now, let me tell you how that matter is for I suppose the allusion was to me. I was at ho not do that in the next four years, if we have done so and I said, "I will go." Well, I went; and as I have said, I uttered the strongest anti-slavery sentiments.

with an exceedingly difficult state of affairs to man- would not be fair; but I want to state to you a fact. as Mrs. Foster has criticised me somewhat for going culties that surround him. It is a mighty and terrible out in this manner. Two years ago, before the Republicans had ever said to me, "Will you go?"—be-fore I had ever labored under their direction or in their employ-they made application to my friend Stephen Foster to come up to New Hampshire, and aid them them in the work of electing their Governor. Gilmore. Well, he went up, (I think he did right,) and lectured, they said, extremely well. I went over the same ground, in the employ of the Anti-Slavery Society, the winter after, and leading Republicans them, if we must part here, then we part. I shall employees of the white men. In the courts of Louisi.

speaker than Stephen Foster did for them. Did he had with this Government while it stands with its ana, these men are not known at all. They cannot do right? I say he did. But he was employed by told me they never had better service done by any do right ? I say he did. But he was employed by the Republicans; and so important an agent did they consider him, that they hired a man to go into the towns a John the Baptist, and tell the people that Stephen Foster was coming. (Laughter.) Now, I themselves and their families, and schools for their want to know why I am open to this criticism any more than my friend Foster, who was my predecesso by two years? (Applause.) In the day of coming glory, when the Administration of Abraham Lincoln, and the history of the Republican party, shall fill the vault of heaven with the sound of praise. Stephen Foster's name will be repeated as having been two years ahead of me in the Republican party. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. President, I am an Abolitionist, a Garrisonia Abolitionist if you please, (applause,) exactly as l was thirteen years ago, when I first appeared on this platform. I have watched every body's movements Mr. Foss. Yes; but, Mr. President, the question but my own, (laughter,) and I have tried sometimes to watch them. I have never seen any departure from the principles that I first heard announced on this platform, on the part of any of our leading friends. We all adhere to the old faith; we all work with autocrat whose will is law? I want to know if he the old weapons; but God has given us some new has no responsibility anywhere? I say, he had a ones, and we employ them too. That is all the difference. This Government in the hand of Almighty God, (and God's hand is always manifested through have recovered a dollar, under the laws of Louisiana; hands,) has been hurled as a thunderboit against the he would have been left in a perfectly helpless condithunders breaking all around me, and see the kingdom of slavery tumbling down, I tell you, friends, I shall ters should be in the hands of the military power, and find something else to do than to find fault with the made to fulfil all their engagements. That is the view thunder, proclaiming it too loud, or too harsh, or not harsh enough! I am glad to see the kingdom tumb-

Mr. President, I do not mean to detain you longer. ers were made to walk square up to the chalk; and it I ask for equal justice to the negro; I ask for him the Again, it is supposed that this is a permanent matter. It is simply a military order; there is nothing permanent about it. When the war ceases, a new the ballot, I shall accept that, and get the ballot for

autiful hymns,-

"How blessed are our eyes,
That see this heavenly light!
Prophets and kings desired it long,
But died without the sight."

The "prophets" we have had in this country, if not the "kings," and they have "died without the sight." I feel that I have occasion to congratulate myself, you, the American people, and the world, on this mighty change. I think that when a few more years shall have passed, and slavery is no more, we shall all be able to sing that beautiful song, that I read in the old "American Preceptor," when I first began to

"Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise, The queen of the world, and the child of the skies!" I say to you sir, that I have always loved my country, and do now. We have been accused of being factious. I think we stand entirely redeemed from that imputation-those of us, at least, who are ready to commend the Government for the work it is doing. in the right position, we acknowledge it, go with it, and Garrison is a non-resistant. I am not, and never was. I tried to be, and held out a day and a half (laughter). be a non-resistant. I had been turning it over in my mind for a long time, and thought I had got sufficiently convicted, and came here a converted man on that Monday morning, held out a day and a half, and then non-resistant, because I believe in this war, because I upon the champions of slavery, and grinding them to powder.

with Elihu of old, I would "show you mine opinion."

SPEECH OF A. BRONSON ALCOTT. I know that I have no right to occupy a moment

this evening, but I cannot leave this audience act called forth loud applause.] without speaking a word. Coming as I do unconnected with any party, a recluse, a scholarly man, an obissues which are now before us.

to what is to be done in this national crisis? I shall The question is not so much with regard to measures not undertake, it would be egotism in me to under- and men, as the things to be done. That I conceive take to tell you who your teachers are. Providence to be our duty to-day. is our greatest teacher; and that Teacher of teachers has taught the teachers, and has taught the country, and has advanced us all, individually and nationtion; but I tell you precisely what I think; and I am ally, half a century. But who has received the largest measure of light?—who can speak to your instincts, speak to your reason, speak to your imagination in the new idea of what is proper for the people of New tion, speak to your hearts, and carry the day over England, who are the leaders of all the world, to do all private and individual differences of opinion, reconcile even your leaders, and show you that each man on this platform, and each one of you, are aiming at the same grand end-that the little differences concern only the end-that some of you require less, and some require more, to be done ?

Now, who are your teachers? Will you allow me to state who I conceive to be your teachers, and the teachers of the country—the teachers of the President, and of those who made him President, and who will keep him there, or remove him, and put another man in his place, when they please? The man who more than thirty years ago, in this very city, ventured to think, in his private heart, that slavery could be abolished in this country, took his position, and throughout all this intervening period has steadily held fast to it, and is about to see it consummated by other hands than his, or those of his immediate colleagues and associates-he is your teacher. (Applause, He is the nation's teacher. He has been the Presi dent of these United States for long years, had the people known it. He is President of the United States to-day, if he choose to be so, and if he hold up before him that grand future, that high destiny, to which this people is swiftly advancing. He is longer the President, no longer your leader, unless he do. You will take sides then with him who calls himself the disciple of the leader; you will take sides, then, according to the breadth, and depth, and scope of your experience. If you are content with the President of the United States being but the instrument of your teacher, and executing what your teacher conceived so many years ago, then follow him; it is but following your leader. If you feel that, at this crisis, the destiny of the country pends, not upon what becomes of the white man, but ipon what shall be done for the black man, then you will determine what course you will take.

Now, does it appear to any of you, my friends, today, that you can safely trust any administration that you can elect with this humane question, this ligious question, this care of a whole people? You We are none of us quite equal to the care of a single servant in our own houses. The culture of mankind has not yet reached to such humanity that one human being can be entrusted to another. without great uncertainty whether he will be able to

ment has its growth; anti-slavery work has its pro- country. You know to whom I allude; I need not lican party to go out and lecture on the subject of sla gress, and must have its perfection. It takes time. I mention his name. (Loud applause.) It is not strange would not compromise at all; I would stand holding for gentlemen of my age, and the age of my friend, the banner full high; but, at the same time, I would [Mr. Garrison,] not to know our own sons, and to call take advantage of the weapons the providence of God | them by new names. Does my friend know that he has placed in our way for the overthrow of slavery; is calling "Abraham," "Abraham," "Abraham," and I am glad that I have lived to see this glorious when he should be calling another name ? For what day, which a few years ago I had not hoped to live to is Abraham doing but what this disciple of his has see. Why, friends, it seems to me that I can appro- taught him to do? (Applause.) This is his brightpriately use the language of Dr. Watts, in one of his est son; this is the fruit of his long labors. Let him own him, let him know him, let him bless him. (Loud applause.) Let there be no quarrel in the household. If the son can do more than the father, shall we not all say, "God speed!" (Applause.) Is it not likely that the work to be done, during the life of this hopeful son, is unlike what has been done during the life of the parent? If we have new duties to perform, shall we not find speedier ways of discharging those duties? Is it not time that the Anglo-Saxon race should know how to do things in an Anglo-Saxon way? (Applause.) Is it not time that we should cease borrowing from abroad? We are not a nation until we have grown our poetry, our literature, our philosophy, our politics, our religion, our modes of reform; and yet, see to-day how slowly we move! We are Old England men yet. My friend who sits before me [GEO. THOMPSON, Esq.]-though perhaps I am hardly entitled to call him my friendwill pardon me if I say he is not an Old England man, he is a New England man, and has found his own country at last. (Applause.) It is because, in We are not factious men. When the Government gets the old country, they are still doing things, not in the new Anglo-Saxon way, but in the old Norman way, use it for the overthrow of slavery. My friend Mr. in the old Hebrew way; and so he flees Old England,

and comes here for more freedom. Will my friend [Mr. GARRISON] allow me to say When Burns was on trial, I came here, resolved to that I think he, too, is behind his times; that what was good thirty years ago, -good for him, something of a Hebrew as he is, and a prophet after that orde -may be superseded by something better now; that the time has come when swifter, speedier and more I was ready for "stratageins and spoils." (Laughter Saxon ways of doing our work are demanded? We and applause.) I cannot be a non-resistant; I don't must have a politics and religion of our own. We know but it is the better way. The same objection, must no longer borrow; we are not a people while we therefore, that lies in Mr. Garrison's way, does not lie do. See, to day, what is our religion? Borrowed! must no longer borrow; we are not a people while we in mine. He cannot vote; I can, because I am not a What are our politics? Borrowed, not ours! What are our letters? All borrowed ;-only the faintest inbelieve in God, who is hurling the thunderbolt of war dications, to-day, of some slight Saxon, New England genius. You know I allude to my own townsman Emerson. (Applause.) Let me speak my belief, that Now, friends, I will relieve your patience. I thought, his is the first American mind which has any right to conceive itself to be detached and independent of the old isle. (Applause.) Well, our politics are to be of the same new and Anglo-Saxon type, and here is its leader. [The speaker pointed to Mr. Phillips, and the

Now, do not understand me to say that I am blaming any one. I am discriminating, and telling what I beserver of the times, I cannot, I say, go away without lieve is true, independent of any thought of mine-abexpressing my latest thought concerning the great solutely true. It is, my friends, it seems to me, a little too trivial for us, at this juncture, to be inquiring Who are the people's teachers ? That, essentially, whether we think alike, or not; the main point is to have been treated badly, but still they side of freedom; if we can get the slave emancipated, said he. So we struck a bargain. There wasn't is the question. Who, my friends, can instruct us as inquire whether we can do.

You will excuse me if I have spoken frankly and hereafter. They say that in Philadelphia, the people are getting to be very jealous of New York; that New York is very jealous of Boston; and if it would not seem egotistic in me, I would add in a whisper, "and Boston begins to be a good deal jealous of Concord. (Loud laughter and applause.)

SPEECH OF STEPHEN S. FOSTER. I do not rise to make a speech, but simply a personal

explanation, which perhaps may not be of much con-

sequence to anybody else, after all.

You have just heard the statement of my friend Foss in regard to my past connection with the Republican party. Now, I am happy to be able to say that there never was a time when I was in closer relations with the Republican party, or had a higher respect and esteem for it, than I have to-day, for it never was so worthy of my confidence and respect and cooperation, I think, as to-day. And yet, Mr. Chairman, here is a report from another quarter, from a man who sympa-thizes exactly with my friend Mr. Foss, of my publicly expressed views of the Republican party. I want to put this and that together, and see if you do not come to the same conclusion that I have on this sub-ject, namely, that, if these reports are to be credited, I am a very strange man indeed, live in a very strange community, if I can be employed by a party of which I express such opinions as I am about to read. This is from the report of a meeting held at Worcester, Jannary 15, by the Secretary of that meeting :-

uary 15, by the Secretary of that meeting:

"Stephen S. Foster followed in condemnation of Mr. Foss's positions, and of all those who hopefully felt or manifested any sympathy with the Anti-Slavery progress of the government, denouncing in particular Mr. Garrison and the Liberator as having forsaken and betrayed the cause. He affirmed that the government had made no change for the better, but that it stood in essentially the same position it had done for many years past, when abolitionists refused it support. He declared the proposed Constitutional Amendment a years past, when adolitionists refused it support. He declared the proposed Constitutional Amendment a deceitful device, and a pro-slavery measure; and speaking of the proposed arming of slaves by Jefferson Davis, he stated that he thought the prospect was that Davis would sooner recognize the manhood and equality of the negro than Lincoln."

Here you have the two testimonies. My friend Foss represents me as being the agent of the Republican party, and my friend, Mr. Howland, represents me without great uncertainty whether he will be able to fulfil his duties—to be a humane and kindly master and friend. And yet here is this people, to day, to be entrusted with the legislation of your Congress.

Now, what are you to believe? You cannot take

be entrusted with the legislation of your Congress.

Now, I shall intimate, as distinctly and [discriminatingly as I can, where my sympathies lie. I shall not take the testimony of either. If you strike a ballock the string of the testimony of either. the testimony of both of these men; in fact, you canendeavor to be just to your teacher, the leader. I ance between the two, you will get at the fact. I never ter. It is simply a military order; there is nothing permanent about it. When the war ceases, a new order of things must come; and then the question will be, what rights shall the black man have? I am in favor of Mr. Phillips's resolution. I shall demand Sir, everything has its growth. Anti-slavery senti-

very. They would not accept them. Hence, from no fault of mine. I have never been an agent of either, never lectured under the auspices of either. I am sorry, not for their sake, but for my own. It is true that, two years ago, certain Republicans in New Hampshire, after hearing a speech that I made in my native town, came to me, and asked me if I would not go through the State, and reiterate the sentiments uttered there. I said, "If there is anybody in the State interested enough to get up a series of meetings and transport me from town to town, bearing my travelling expenses, I will spend from this time up to election in the work." The arrangements were made, not by the State Committee, but by some anti-slavery Republican friends. They put a man into the field who went from town to town, and got up my meetings, and made it, to me, a very pleasant and profitable campaign. I have this day had an invitation to go back into New Hampshire, and travel over that same ground, which I may possibly accept. I wish the Republican party of New Hampshire would invite me to go there; but I don't think they are likely to, especially if they read the report of Mr. Howland, and credit it. I do not believe they would credit it. I think it would be very difficult to make anybody believe I said what I am there reported to have said. I do not think my friend Foss intended to make you think that I had advised anybody to vote for the Republican party, though that, I think, would be the effect of his speech I have never advised any man to vote with that party I have shown that the interests of the country were identified with the triumph of anti-slavery, and that, as between the two parties, there could be no question as to which was the party of patriotism, and thus thrown my influence into the scale of the Republican party, necessarily and inevitably. Thus far and no farther have I gone in support of that party.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. President,-I rise, now, simply to refer to the remarks of my friend, Mr. Alcott. I was very glad to see him on this platform, and wish he would occupy it more frequently than he seems disposed to do, through his innate modesty. His personal reference to myself was not only highly complimentary-as to the past, certainly-but partial and excessive, I think. At least, allow me to say that I have never undertaken to be the teacher of this nation. Nobody has ever heard me put forth such a claim; nor have I aspired to lead anybody. A young man thirty-six years ago, without influence, without friends, solitary and alone, seeing the slave in his fetters, and recognizing his claim to immediate freedom, I warmly espoused his cause. As an humble laborer in his behalf, I have continued to prosecute the work to this hour, as one only of a multitude of noble men and women in various parts of the country, whose combined efforts have all been necessary to bring about the marvellous change in public sentiment which we now see, and over which we now rejoice. Not a tear has been shed, not a prayer offered, not an effort put forth by the humblest of the humble, not a testimony borne, a pecuniary contribution made, that has not been neces sary and indispensable to the achievement of the triumph of our cause, as it now stands before our country and the world. No "teacher" and no "leader." sir, but simply a true friend and a humble advocate of the oppressed. My friend has attempted to draw a distinction be

tween Mr. Phillips and myself, as though I had faller into the rear, and he was now the "leader" in this cause. "Leader," sir? "Leader"—where? "Leader"—in what? I should have been gratified if my respected friend had thrown some light upon that issue. cannot allow, because it is not true, that Mr. Phillins is more firmly anchored in anti-slavery principle than I am, or more inexorable in the application of that principle. Have I not always declared, that all proscriptive complexional distinctions are cruel, unnatural, and wicked before God 3 I deny here, not in the spirit of rivalry but as a matter of justice, that he precedes me, or the humblest member of this Society, hair's breadth in demanding that equal justice be done to the black man as to the white man. I protest. therefore, against this alleged difference between Mr. Phillips and myself-as though there had been a retreat, or standing still, or getting "behind the times." on my part, and a bold, radical advance on his part, separating us from each other. There is no such antagonism, isolation, retraction or precedence. Neither is he in advance, nor am I behind; neither does he lead, nor are the abolitionists led. We all stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder, and march in a solid phalanx against the common foe-God alone being our Wherein we may chance to differ relater not to the principles we cherish, the doctrines we dis seminate, or the claims we make for the colored population, whether bond or free; but solely as to the reltive amount of praise or blame, of satisfaction or complaint, to be expressed or awarded concerning certain public men and measures in their bearing upon th cause so dear to us all. And herein we shall differ in opinion, more or less, according to the standpoint we occupy, the information we possess, or the ability we have to perceive and understand the relation of events in this tremendous convulsion of the country. Sir, I do not think it is any evidence of superior

fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause to deal in sweeping accusations against President Lincoln, General Banks, General Sherman, or any other public man. Nor de I think it is to halt, or retreat, or get "behind the times," to proclaim that our cause has advanced far beyond any thing we had a right to expect, and to rejoice with joy unspeakable in view of that fact. Not to do so would indicate either a morbid or prejudiced state of mind, or total blindness of vision. Within the last two years, we have witnessed a revolution in public sentiment that would be worth a whole century of labor to bring about. And shall we not be jubi

One word, sir, in regard to the dissolution of our Society. I have proposed a resolution to this effect: that in case the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forever abolishing slavery in our country, should be passed, as it probably will, by the requisite number of States, during the present year, the Board of Managers be instructed to call a special meeting of this Society, to commemorate the great and glorious event, with a view at that time to terminate the Society's existence. For what do we

barbarism of slavery without being smitten down by

the hand of the bloody-minded slaveholder; now

cleansed, purified, redeemed, and freedom, free schools,

had nothing but that great change to contemplate, it

would be worth holding congratulatory meetings from

one end of the country to the other! And then the

repeal of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law-why, it

we not always said, that if the slaves could not be

hunted on free soil, no Border Slave State could long

exist, and hence that the whole slave system would

perish speedily? Now there is not a slave held in the

land who is not permitted by the United States Gov-

ernment to take his liberty where and when he will,

and no man may dare pursue him, or lay claim to any

property in him. (Applause.) Where everything is

so encouraging, beyond our highest expectations, I do

in regard to the future. "Sufficient unto the day is

the evil thereof." One would think, from what we

for liberty; nevertheless, there has been an immense

gain, and we are advancing towards perfect justice

every hour. Slavery goes down by the righteous judg-

ment of God; and it is not in the power of men or

devils to save it from extinction. With it will soon

pass away those proscriptive laws and usages against

the free people of color to which it has given birth.

Let us, then, cheer on the vast multitude whose hearts

are beginning to palpitate with our own. Let us re-

have heard here to-day, that there has been no gain

not understand why there should be so much distrust

one signs the death-warrant of slavery! For have

free thought and free speech dominant! Why, if w

That is the philosophy upon which I act. (Applause.) GEORGE T. DOWNING. I would like to ask Mr. Garrison how he reconciles his position with the third article of the Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, adopted in Philadelphia? The third article of the Constitution is as follows:

stimulate them to complete the work so well begun.

"The objects of this Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color; to improve and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites."

The Declaration of Sentiments save-

"We further believe and affirm, that all persons color who possess the qualifications which are demand ed of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of e same prerogatives, as others; and that the path preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should opened as widely to them as to persons of a white

Mr. GARRISON. Nothing is more easily answered than this inquiry. We had two classes in view, of course, when we organized the Society. First, the entire slave population, for whose liberation we banded ourselves together. Next, half a million free people of color, laboring under many and grievous disabilities; and we pledged ourselves to seek their relief. improvement and elevation. But I never supposed that, after the abolition of slavery, we should attempt to perpetuate our Anti-Slavery organizations. For one, I shall not be guilty of any such folly. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT

If the question before this Society were, "Shall the right of suffrage be extended at once to the freedmen?" I do not believe there is a solitary individual in the Society who would raise his voice against it. I challenge any man in the Society, or out of it, to quote a solitary word uttered by the Liberator or Anti-Slavery Standard, or any member of this Society or of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to show that he would make a distinction in the matter of suffrage, on the ground of color. No such word has ever be uttered; and I challenge any one to prove the contrary. In all our meetings, in all our papers, that has been a cardinal point, whenever it came up; and were the question to be put to the Society to-night, I do not believe there would be a dissenting voice. But that is not the question before us now.

Then, again, as to the equal right of the colored man to work for whom and for what he pleases, jus like the white man-I do not believe there is a solitary member of the Society who would or ever did oppose it; and yet from the tenor of the remarks that I have heard, I should suppose that the Society itself was opposed to that idea

Then, again, as to the equal right of the colore man to education. I never have heard the sentimen uttered in any anti-slavery meeting, or in any anti-slavery paper, that the colored man should not have an equal right to education in all its branches. Then, again, as to the Amendment of the Constitu-

thing to the contrary. Society, and I put it to the nation, Shall the United | we have to look at the measures of to day. colored man to the ballot-box, when she excludes him of Louisiana; and I endeavored to chain you other States shall full the beam out of theirs. I say, years' warfare, that the Government i in schools, in social customs-everywhere. It seems Union unless it extends the right of suffrage equally to all its citizens, saying, at the same time, not a single with the word 'white' in it." (Applause.) word about the existence of the same inequality in his is what I call the effectual abolition of slavery own State. I would say, let every man and every woman stand on an absolute equality with regard to question, a question that calls for a verdict from this suffrage, as I believe they have a perfect right to do, and with regard to education and labor; and I believe this special matter of the admission of Louisiana, to in the great mass of this Society, and of the Abolitionists sist on the ballot ? I think it is. Mr. Wright save throughout the country, would say the same. But the it is not. To me, it seems so important that I conquestion is, Shall the United States Government be sider it vital to any real success; the very essence called upon by us to go on with the war and keep the of the present anti-slavery opportunity. rebel States under military rule until they can be relegislation based upon distinctions of color? Mr. Chairman, I say, NO! I would like to see the Union dition of its return to the Union. re-constructed on the abolition and everlasting prohibition of slavery. And what do I mean by slavery ? From the remarks that have been made here to-day, tion of its return to the Union." Let me, as briefly as and from remarks which I have heard in other places I can, indicate to you why I take this ground. It is in our anti-slavery meetings, it seems to me that some our friends hold out the idea that the man who has not the right to vote is a slave. We have been careful for the last thirty-five years-and I speak from my personal knowledge-in all our publications, and in all our addresses, to draw a distinction between slavery and other forms of oppression. When the friends of slavery in this country and in Europe have taunted us with conniving at slavery in England the laboring class in England being slaves, we have said, "There is no such thing as a slave in England. There are people who are denied the right of suffrage, their labor, and in various ways; but no slave." A slave is a man turned into a chattel, and that, and that alone is what we have been fighting against all our lifetime as abolitionists. We have labored for the redemption of the slave from his condition of chattelhood, where he has been left to feel after God and immortality among beasts and creeping things, and to place him on the platform of humanity and I maintain for one, that so far as that is concerned the labor of this Society draws to a close. When the nstitutional Amendment shall have been adopted forever prohibiting chattel slavery within the limits of the United States, chattel slavery is abolished so far the Government can do the work, and then we mus go to work to secure to the freedman his rights in all other departments. I have no objection to having the matter discussed now. Let us have a resolution here declaring the equal rights of the colored man in re gard to labor, education and anffrage, with the white man. There is not a person in this whole Society who would not vote for such a resolution-not one Why, then, imply that there is such an one?

We approach, in my opinion, the consumma our work-the abolition of chattel slavery-the lifting up of human chattels, and placing them in the position joice that they have entirely changed, in spirit and of men and women, to be dealt with as men and feeling, towards us and the cause of the oppressed; women, and not as beasts and things. We have a right to demand that the rebel States shall not be per for Union the earliest moment they can. Let us be mitted to come back into the Union while they retain just, magnanimous, hopeful, co-operative, and thus the cause of all our trouble. And why? Because the act of rebellion was an act of emancipation to every slave in the rebel States. The rebels them. selves enacted the emancipation of every slave in the rebel States when they went out of the Union.

> SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. Mr. Chairman-Allow me one word, which I utter with the greater pleasure and frankness, because my friend, Mr. Garrison, has left the Hall, that there is been the immediate cause of my anti-slavery life and the breath of our nostrils; and I do not see to-day, that in regard to the great principles of the cause, there is any difference between him and myself. In our speeches to-day, we have both wandered, on the one side and the other, from the direct line off to the consideration of motives. But it was in 1833 that Mr. Garrison wrote the words which my friend Downing has read to us, as the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society-" We believe that all persons of color, who possess the qualifica tions which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others." It was his own pen, that same year, which drew the third article of our Constitution, affirming, as my friend read, that we were to "aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, that thus they may share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges." That was from his pen on the 4th day of December, 1833. This very morning, that same hand writes these words :-

"Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in submitting to the people an amendment to the Con-stitution, making the electoral law uniform in all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions."

What can be better Alpha and Omega to the Anti-Slavery Gospel than this Declaration of Sentiments and this resolution offered to us to-day? It is the same great leader—whether he accept the title or not-who drafts both these declarations of sentiment and purpose for the Anti-Slavery cause. Whatever, therefore, may be the conclusion of this debate, I re-cognize the same leading mind at the head of the antislavery struggle. In times past, none but his own modest lips ever dreamed of denying him that title; in time to come, we shall need, find and welcome the ame leader.

tion forbidding all State legislation based on distincwith great truth, " No one of us doubts that the negro What, then, is the difficulty? What is the fault to ought to have the vote; no one doubts that the negro be found with the Society on those matters? The ought to have the protection of equal civil privileges." question before the meeting, as I have understood it Of course not. You will observe, that in the opening from the remarks that have been made this afternoon sentence of my remarks this morning, I touched the and evening, is the condition on which the rebel States same point that I refer to now. I said to you-" We shall be re-admitted into the Union-Louisiana, for in-stance? I put this question to all the members of this measures, up to the 8th of November, be bygones; shall be re-admitted into the Union-Louisiana, for in- have no difference about principle. Let even past States Government be called upon to admit no rebel are those ?" Mr. Wright says, no one doubts the State into the Union until it shall have abolished all right of the negro to the ballot. I assent; every man legislation based upon distinctions of color ? That is in this house assents; Mr. Garrison has affirmed it in the great question before us. Shall we refuse to re- the resolution I have read. Mr. Wright goes onceive these States into the Union until they shall have "Shall we demand of the Federal Government, before adopted a rule that color shall make no difference at the rebel States are reconstructed, that it secure to the ballot box, or in labor, or in education? There is the negro the ballot?" He says, "No"; I say, not a man among us, Mr. Chairman, who does not be- "Yes"; and there is our difference. (Applause. lieve that all laws and customs ought to be abolished No difference as to the right-none whatever; and 1 that make any distinction of color as a basis of politi- have been striving, this morning and afternoon, to cal, social or religious action; but the question is, clear from every speaker the confusion which seemed Shall we shut out the rebel States until they come up to me to beset him, and to show that the only question to that point, when two thirds of the States now in the before this audience was-Is now the time to claim the Union actually make color the basis of exclusion from ballot for the negrot and, On what point shall we fasten political rights ? (Voices-"Yes." Shall Pennsylva-nia demand of the rebel States that they admit the point which the nation presents to us, the reconstruction herself? I say, let Pennsylvania pull the beam out of practical issue, offered us by the Government. No Abher own eyes before she undertakes to claim that the olitionist can depy the cardinal principle of thirty let this nation heal itself. Let the Free States go to blind; that we are not to know a white man from work and sholish all distinctions of color in levislation. a black man. Last summer I said to Fremon What is the meaning of your phrase in the Cleve to me perfectly monstrous for anybody to stand up land platform, 'Absolute equality before the law' and demand that no State shall be re-admitted into the "Well," said the General, "this is the meaning there is to be no Constitution or statute in the natio

> Now, the only question is-and it is a pre anti-slavery meeting to-day-Is it good now, and or

Mr. WRIGHT. My friend Phillips does not mea constructed under a constitutional provision prohibiting to misrepresent me at all; but I want him to add one sentence, which I always added-"as the con Mr. PHILLIPS. Exactly; the ballot for the negro

is to be demanded of any rebel State "as the c

this. As I indicated this morning, the 8th day of November is my new starting-point. The significa of that canvas, nationally, is this. Of the fwenty-two hundred thousand who voted for Lincoln, some looked to emancipation, some to war, some to peace, as their eans; (Greeley means peace); but whatever the path, the goal sought by all is the nation, one, durable just. That is the meaning of the twenty-two hundred thousand votes. It is my goal as an Abolitionist and a citizen. In order to have it, we must have one idea from Massachusetts down to the Gulf. That is, we must have labor resting on manhood,-educated, ho ored, because it is labor. In order to that, we must have the blacks, the great mass of labor at the South, honored, educated, contented. How shall we get him educated ? Gen. Banks says that he has set up schools for the blacks. I am very much obliged to him for his intentions. I have no doubt there are some hun dreds of scholars in those schools; but I undertake t say that Gen. Banks cannot educate a mass of men by any system of benevolence. It never has been done No nation ever yet educated the mass of its people by the simple instrument of benevolence-never land is the foremost nation of the world, outside of our own; she educates, to a certain extent, her poor, from the motives of benevolence; and the narrow fringe which hangs round wealth and comfort there has som thing like education; but the masses, I suppose nobody will be offended if I say, are almost as ignorant as the steers they drive. So are the masses of almost all other nations. Fear-the consciousness that the lower classes had power, and hence the need of adding to it intelligence-has been the ruling motive for cor ferring education on the masses of any land. So far as the mere sham which Austria and Prussia call education deserves the name, this is its cause and motive New England is the only country that has ever educated its masses, that has ever covered every cradle with civilization and intelligence. We spent on this peninsula last year common people. Why ? I do not believe it is Christian benevolence. I do not believe education for the masses has ever wrung out of the upper classes by any such motive. It has been wrung out of them by mixing that motive with fear, with selfishness, Welth sees the ballot in the hands of poverty, and knows that its gold and its roof depend upon the use made of that ballot, and wealth hurries to put intelligence on the one side and religion on the other of the baby footsteps that will one day find their way to the bal lot. That is the essence of democratic institutions nothing more unpleasant to me than any allusion to It mortgages wealth and learning and strength to lift him and myself as antagonists. Whatever may have up the poor man's cradle. I want that help for the black man. How shall I get it? I will explain. Go action, he is, in so true and full a sense, the creator down to Broad street, and trespass on the rights of the of the Anti-Slavery movement, that I may well say raggedest Irish boy that sells newspapers in the streets, I have never uttered an anti-slavery word which I and in a week I will show you the Advertiser and the did not owe to his inspiration; I have never done an Transcript, the Journal and the Herald, the Traveller anti-slavery act of which the primary merit was not and the Post covering that boy with their advocacy. his. More than that: in my experience of nigh and Henry Wilson leading the van. (Laughter and thirty years, I have never met the anti-slavery man applause.) And why do they do it ? Because that nan who had struck any effectual blow at the boy is one of 80,000 living on this peninsula, who slave system in this country, whose action was not wield about ten thousand votes, and covered with the born out of the heart and conscience of WM. LLOYD panoply of that defence, journal and political aspirant GARRISON. (Loud applause.) I do not forget the hasten to gain merit by conciliating the just regard half-dozen anti-slavery sermons which sparkle along and gratitude of that boy. I want the same thing for our history,-the quiet scruples of some tender con- the black man, and I shall have it. The moment I sciences,-the passive disapprobation of Friends, their give to the 400,000 black men in Louisiana ballots. protection of individual fugitives, or the devoted life Gen. Banks may then relieve himself from the labor of Lundy,-still, the Anti-Slavery Movement is of establishing schools; the white men of Louisians Garrison's work, and, as agitators, we all owe to him will see to it that those black men, who have their hands on the helm of the State-whose purpose makes life and gold safe or otherwise, are educated. myself always on democratic principles. I am a de ocrat, ingrained, from top to toe; and I mean to welcome the negro to the same shield that has made me and the Irishmen of this peninsula equal and equally

safe. I shall give myself no rest till the negro stands there. My friend Garrison says Gen. Banks cannot give the negro the ballot. I do not blame him for that. I blame him for pretending to make freemen, where in reality he makes apprentices. But he could have given the negro the ballot, had he chosen. He tore in pieces the United States Constitution and the Louisia na Constitution. Judge Durant has shown that he put them both under his feet, and made a Constitu tion to suit himself. Then, when Dumas (educated in Paris and a wealthy man) and his comrades asked him for the ballot, and said, "We have earned the malignant hate of every white man in this city to save you; give us the ballot to protect ourselves before you withdraw the United States cannon," he answered them-"I cannot violate Louisiana law"! I heard o man who committed theft on Saturday, was arrested on Monday, and said to the Sheriff, "I could have escaped, but I had conscientious scruples against travlling on the Sabbath." (Laughter.) So Banks, having torn in pieces the United States Censtitution and the State Constitution, had conscientious scrupler against giving the black man a vote, because it had nce been law in Louisiana. No defence whatever But I am not arraigning Gen. Banks. He is not he object of this criticism. I criticise Louisiana and his system of apprenticeship; and when you ask me what sort of Louisiana I want, then I answer, I want not only emancipation, but the ballot. My friend, who sits here, [Mr. Foss.] says, "Take emancipation

My friend Wright has touched the exact difference. first, and then get the hallot." I have two answers to recent letters, he asks-" Why have Italian revoluthat. In the first place, when Mr. Lincoln offered commendation to the black man, did we dissolve this mistake has been one only too prevalent at the present emancipation to the black man, did we dissolve this Society! Mr. Chase said that was efficient; Mr. Mr. Montgomery Blair—of whom, the latest news from Washington is, that your President is making his machinations cover all Maryland to put that recreant into the United States Senate—said, "That Proclamation frees every slave." Many lawyers said the same. They are for letting the helm of the anti-slavery cause go out of the hands of Mr. Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society lates. They are for letting the helm of the anti-slavery society states. If any one objected that, at the best, the Proclamation only freed the present slave; the masses cried, "Well, that practically kills the system." But did we dissolve the Society ! No. We said, "No matter what other men think of that parchment, we mean to have the liberty of the black man now living, and that of that same fatal generosity which Mazzini describes, system destroyed." Now the nation has taken a system destroyed." Now the nation has taken a stride still further, and says to me, "We will give an actual prohibition of slavery indorsed on the Constitution." I say, "Thank you! that is a gain." But, at the same time, I see a fence between me and the negro; I see him, though covered with this parch-ment rechibition ground to provider by the power of institution." We did that as long as prudence would be a superficient to the same defeat that Mazzini and his and will lead to the same defeat that the same lead the same lead the same defeat that Mazzini and his and will lead to the same de ment prohibition, ground to powder by the power of justify. To-day the ship labors in heavy seas. To-State sovereignty; I see Salmon P. Chase walking day the nation gropes blindly, its purpose all right, up to the line of sence that divides him from Louisiana, but its intelligence at fault; and that honest nation looking over, and seeing the white man grind the needs the constant, incessant, discriminating criticism Federal Governments, as I explained this morning; so, duty of the original anti slavery host. This is not like an Abolitionist with a client, I demand, not only self-conceit, as has been intimated. What are we hands of the Sheriff. (Applause.) I demand, not question, we do not understand it better than men wh only an Amendment of the Constitution, but the per- were converted vesterday, and their vision distorted hands of the negro, to defend himself. To an Ameri- to claim that we do in some degree understand this can, this is indispensable, the only effectual assertion question. We have watched the problem through all and guaranty of the negro's liberty.

> ing off the shackles, so far as my influence goes, of colored race in all its history; we have studied reform four millions of slaves, I shall not stand by silently, as our daily task; we have stood outside the political and let the nation cheat me out of a substantial suc- machine and watched it, reading the game better than power to get something more; and when my friend (Mr. Wright) turns to Illinois, and says, "She don't lives. Like Tocqueville, on the outside, we have allow her black men to vote,"-I reply, More shame been impartial observers how in America the game of to Illinois; but I have nothing to do with her; she is politics was played; and now, at the acme of the quesa loyal State; she has all her State rights; she has tion, in the very crisis and agony of the struggle got her fence up, and we cannot pass it. But, thank some are for sitting down, folding their hands, and God! the fence between me and Carolina is down, trusting everything to the newly converted intellect of and it shall never be put up until I do my utmost to the country. It is not necessary that I should arraign secure to every man on her soil the ballot. (Loud the conscience. I only refuse to trust the helm in this applause.) My pathway to loyal States is over loy- night of tempest to a fresh hand. al States. My pathway to Carolina is over the best blood of the North; and in order to open it, we have as that National Act will be, will secure only two mortgaged the industry of this generation, and taken things. First,—that there never again shall be an man for fifty years to come; and having now this pow- chattelism. Secondly,-it gives the negro, what he er at such a cost, I intend, before the war is closed, to never had, the liberty, if he is oppressed in Kentucky, have out of Carolina, not the parchment form of jus- of moving to Missouri; a substantial protection, unless

England has shown us the same fact once or twice. mark me, friend! whatever peace you make, whatever be the nature and elements of that peace. that, and nothing more, must content you for twenty years, unless civil war breaks out anew; for as for is the law of national life. What you get by the bar-

six or twelve weeks, in answer to these calls, Major rights. I seek in reconstruction only this principle when they accepted his work-the completed regiregiments, is the only other. By accepting the men, called home, and peace is made. (Applause.) represents the State of Maine? "I would like to send the nation there, necessarily. The sch pense, to Boston State House, ibto the Governor's orized to enlist blacks-show me your author- the means of protecting itself. ity!" Now, I venture to say there is not one chance in ten hundred thousand million billion (laughter) can be safe or at real peace till the laboring class is that even Senator Fessenden would never have used while men reputable enough to hold public office

national disgrace. or in the majorty of the Senate. Allow me to remind for myself, and so did my father before me." "We benefit of the fami you of one prophetic warning of Mazzini. In one of his will settle that !"—and the black man was sent to a praiseworthy act.

his children put beyond doubt. We mean to have the and will lead to the same defeat that Mazzini and his negro to powder, and looking on powerless to protect which my friend Garrison thinks animadversion, but the victim. I recognize the interlocking of State and which I think necessary, indispensable criticism, the the record of the judgment, but the execution in the worth, if, after giving thirty years to the study of one fect power, according to American ideas, put into the by prejudice till then ? Certainly, it is not self-conceit its trials, in all ages and all climates, under every Having given thirty years of my manhood to tear- form of government and faith. We have traced the cess by the offer of a parchment picture, if I have the the players. We are wise by thirty years of ex-The Constitutional Amendment, grand and sublim

ch comfort from the table of every laboring auction-block for men, under our flag. It abolishes tice, but its very substance and self. (Loud applause.) the laws of the neighboring States forbid, as they now Then, again, my friend says,-" We have got, in lawfully may, the full enjoyment of any right except four years, the amendment, and thus, in four more, technical freedom, within their territories. But b we will get the ballot." That is not the law, either youd these two privileges lie a score of questions afnational or individual life. You know it is a law feeting the rights, manhood, civil status, career, educaour nature, that after every great spasm comes tion and national privileges of the negro. For the lull; the system rests in order to gather reserved just settlement of these, we must rely on men who are strength, and saves itself for another effort. So na- more than Anti-Slavery, in a narrow and technical tions, after a struggle for a great idea, settle down to sense; on men who use the same ethics for all races. the dull routine of common material life. After the I do not deny that Mr. Lincoln means to be an antivolution, our fathers devoted themselves to mak- slavery man; but I maintain, as I have done since ing their bread, building roads, cities, houses, ships. 1861.—and any one who will do me the honor to look over my speeches will see that warp running through France half a dozen times within the last century. them ever since 1861,—that Mr. Lincoln, a Kentuck ian, born in the Border States, is not capable of seeing a negro exactly as a white man. It is not in his nature. God will not hold him responsible for this constitutional and almost inevitable defect, or lack. ere agitation, America will set the hand of absolute He gives us the blessing of being born under the clear prohibition on the lips of every man who agitates for skies of Massachusetts, with no slave system to conchange for twenty years, if peace is attained. That fuse our ethics. You perceive the difference in our is the law of national life. What you get by the bargain, you get now, and you will not get any more for a Democrat—bred in the very lowest tier and stratum some length of time, unless Davis, as I indicated to- of the worst New England Democracy; but he goes day, goes over the Rio del Norte with the remainder down to New Orleans; the soil is ripe, and the mo of his veterans, and watches this nation for the rift of ment contact with slavery melts the prejudice against discontent into which he may insert his sword. The blacks, which is a monstrous growth under our New Abolitionist is to ask now, or he will find his labor an England sky—abnormal, allen to all the general ways undred fold greater in all hours to come of our lives. and rules of thought and policy here—that moment I claim, therefore, that it is the duty of the anti-sla- the channel of his logic clears; relentless as Aristotle very body to stand behind the Republican party. or Euclid, every fact and argument falls into place, That party is weak in its very numbers, weak in the and stern New England logic hews to the line on this, very auxiliaries it has received. The old guard saw and other subjects, whatever chips fly into his face! this subject clearly; the new men do not. What I I know his early short-comings in the days when he said to you this morning of the state of mind of Con-gress, the best men there have said to you again and that, after a very short while, he righted; and from in, half a dozen Northern and Eastern Senators that day to this, whatever faults any one may charge have told me that the Republican majority may be him with, no man will assert that Butler ever knew trusted on all party measures, and while the technical the difference between a black man and a white man liberty of the negro is in the scale; but beyond that, (Loud applause). The good seed of this war's exwhen his manhood, civil rights and just claims under perience fell into Massachusetts soil, and the tree grew our laws and institutions are urged or in peril, you straight, shapely and well-proportioned. The same could not trust these men or rely on their aid. Take good seed fell into Kentucky soil, and the tree grows Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, as a specimen. The son of slowly, gnarled, crooked, awry, and cannot grow any one of the first abolitionists in that Commonwealth, better. No matter whether it is Mr. Lincoln's fault the ablest debater in the Senate, the leader of that body when he goes back there, recognized by many "What is our duty?" As for Abraham Lincoln, his as such. Henry Wilson said to him, when we were future is in God's hands,-a more merciful judge than discussing the duty of the nation to pay the 54th and any one of us. We have not to settle his merit or de 55th colored regiments. (I give the substance, not the merit. But he stands either a helper or a hindrance words of the debate,) "It is a question of contract, to the great question of righting a race, and no man in Mr Fessenden. Gov. Andrew published his procla- entitled to call my criticism of him unjust, morbid mation to the black men as far west as the Mississip- too severe, or ill-timed, while I have a right to claim pi, in the columns of a hundred journals, offering that justice to the negro and the nation demands it. them, if they would be mustered in, the same pay I am only "as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising &c., as the whites. The War Department knew that as justice." (Applause.) I have sought only that these hundred journals carried that proclamation eve- from amid these turbid shoals and uncertain channels ry morning over the Northern States, and in some the black man shall come out unharmed, with all his Stearns mustered his two regiments, and brought them such shape given to the new institutions that the head to Readville. Now that is a Government contract. black or white, which God made to rise, shall rise Every man, certainly every lawyer sees that the Fed- and that the head, black or white, that God made to eral Government, well-knowing beforehand the offers go down, shall go down. (Applause.) Justice, absoof their Agent, our Governor, was bound by them lute equality before the law, was the high-water level of American politics reached by the theory of the ments. To keep their promise thus made is one Cleveland Convention; and if word or act of mine can Nationality, to me, means the idea. It goes exactly

path, to repudiate it, and at the same time refuse the make it real, it shall be real before the cannon are they accepted the contract." Turning to the Senator,
Mr. Wilson said, "Will you fulfil it?" And what as far as the idea goes, and not an inch further. You do you think was the answer of the pettifogger who may send Grant's cannon down to the Guif; you do not see Gov. Andrew's written authority"! (Voices- honor to labor, the ballot-box, naturally follow the Shame on him!") In other words, such a remark cannon. If, when the cannon comes home and peace not only justifies the Government in keeping goods, is sealed, the school-house, the ballot-box, and honor while it refuses to pay the price which it knew its to labor stay, the nation stays, and if they come home Agent had for long weeks publicly promised in its the nation comes home. We do not make Georgia a name; but such remarks presuppose that the negro part of the nation by sending Sherman there, to walk in Buffalo or St Louis, ignorant and a fugitive, poor across the State; it is only when Massachuseits ideas and friendless, is bound, before answering to the call take possession of Georgia that we make her a part of of Major Stearns, to make his way, at his own ex- the nation. (Applause.) And in order that Massachusetts ideas may take possession of Georgia, labor chamber, and to ask him-"Gov. Andrew, I hear you must be contented, treated justly, and furnished with I will not turn aside to say, as a citizen, no nation

contented-it will never be so till it feels that it has that shameful evasion in the case of a white Portland all its just rights-education and the ballot among regiment asking for its just due. Yet that is the them. But I say such recognition is just; and for an man who has just been returned to the Senate by the Abolitionist, this is the end and sum of the matter. State of Maine, to be the leader of that body. Surely, prejudice against color is not wholly dead yet, for an anti-slavery platform. But as a citizen, I should have another consideration to suggest. Reconstrucshow themselves, without blushing, thus incapable of the South as you are reconstructing Louisiana, make applying the same ethics to the white man and to the labor dishonorable, make it discontented, cripple and black. Power entrusted to such hands is sure to bring confine it, and what will be the result ! I know of a colored man in New Orleans, of French extraction, Now, it is to a party, the average morality of which his father and grandfather free, who, before the re s represented by such a man, that we are to trust re- bellion broke out, was making a hundred dollars a construction. I will cheerfully trust reconstruction to month. Banks's Provost Marshal summoned him to the man who deals with the negro's rights as he does his office. "Who is your employer?" "Have.'s with the white man's, wherever I find him, and I will got any." "But the law supposes every negro laborer never trust it to any man except he be of that class; to have a master." "Can't help that; my father nev-and I do not find that class either at the White House or had one, and I never have; I have always worked

plantation, twenty miles down the river, to work fe plantation, twenty partial Does that make a coston laboring class? When the war closes, the Soul laboring cmas :

be made like a garden; its fleids replanted; it ni roads to be rebuilt; its cities to be Welcome labor there from the North, the East to the West, and you keep wages high the nation. You equalize the Northern States, you be the channel of European emigration the channel of the labor high wages and full work the country through, and we shall in wentyyears throw our debt off like dew in the m years throw our debt on like dew in the morning Disgrace labor down there, make the negro, went Disgrace mooth, work for 88, and no white man will there to compete with him. You dam up the labor the North; you leave the South aristocratic, lake to pressed and discredited, and an aristocratic thrown upward into being above it inevitably. Morth crowded, wages falling, the supply beyond to North crowned, waged industry mortgaged to payde lebt will write Repudiation on its banner. thing. Bring back such men as Judge Field into the thing. Bring back reasons, and you bring back the dia of the Democratic party; you bring back a net of men to co-operate with the representatives of the eighteen hundred thousand voters for McClellan Holding such allies in one hand and in the other than Bank despotism which our present monetary system gives the Government, the Democratic party will be mnipotent—a fearful trial for Republican Institution What will they do? They will say to the North (sa posing the Anti-Slavery amendment secured -Gen lemen, you have immediate emancipar full citizenship for the black. The Northern casscience wants unlimited, entire, unconditional, selscience wants among a shall have it. But we must have a quid pro quo. We will sell, gentlemen; we will sell cheap. The Northern conscience wants entire emancipation—we will give it; only fund out date along with your own." Leave the South one shred of caste, and she will go into Congress to trade with it: and the Northern conscience, anxious to get rid of the peril, will trade easy. The offer will be, "We will give you black citizenship in full, immediately or in five years or four; but put our bottomless debt on your shoulders." Seal that bargain, and cheated labor rites Repudiation on its banner.

O, no, citizens ! This is a "big job." It holds poitical economy, national honor, justice to the negn, safety to the white man, all in its ample grasp. It is full of the direst issues. They wait at the door, they crowd the ante-room, they hover in the offing, they hunder at your gates, threatening the nation's life. God has given you one seal of Solomon to dispense hem all like shadows. It is justice-absolute, immediate, unmixed justice to the negro. No other spel will control the demons that crowd around, to best back and down the nation in her upward and onward flight. There is no other path but that one hair line-Justice. As an Abolitionist and a citizen, I use the hours, the precious, golden, momentous hours of these six months to educate the nation, if possible, up to this conviction. I want every lip on this platform, on both sides, to fill the air with its protest, to waken the public to aid us, and bring the nation to its feet in aler vigilance. That is our duty, peculiarly our duty as bolitionists. The Past is gone with its errors and ins. The Future is in God's keeping. The Present he trusts to us to be well shaped and rightly used. Thirty years of earnest toil claim of us this crowning vigilance. The negro, the nation, the world, have the ight to claim it of us.

LAUS DEO!

On hearing the bells ring for the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery in the United States

It is done ! Clang of bell and roar of gun Send the tidings up and down. How the belfries rock and reel. How the great guns, peal on peal, Fling the joy from town to town

Ring, O bells ! Every stroke exulting tells Of the burial-hour of crime. Lond and long that all may hear. Ring for every listening ear Of Eternity and Time !

Let us kneel ! God's own voice is in that peal, And this spot is holy ground. Lord forgive us! What are we That our eyes this glory see, That our ears have heard the sound !

For the Lord On the whirlwind is abroad; In the earthquake He has spoken He has smitten with His thunder The iron walls asunder. And the gates of brass are broken ! Loud and long

Sing with Miriam by the sea : He bath cast the mighty down : Horse and rider sink and drown; He hath triumphed gloriously ! Did we dare, In our agony of prayer, Ask for more than He has done? When was ever His right hand

Lift the old exulting song ;

Over any time or land Stretched as now beneath the sun? How they pale, Ancient myth, and song, and tale, In this wonder of our days, When the cruel red of war Blossoms white with righteons law,

And the wrath of man is praise ! Blotted out ! All within and all about Shall a fresher life begin; Freer breathe the universe As it rolls its heavy curse On the dead and buried sin !

It is done ! In the circuit of the sun Shall the sound thereof go forth. It shall bid the sad rejoice, It shall give the dumb a voice, It shall belt with joy the earth !

Ring and swing Bells of joy ! on morning's wing Send the song of praise abroad; With a sound of broken chains, Tell the nations that He reigns Who alone is Lord and Ged!

THE FRIEND OF PROGRESS is the title of a magzine, established by C. M. Plumb & Co., New York city, of which four numbers have thus far been issue is started as the organ of the "progressire thinkers on religious and social topics, and las a ready enlisted a good deal of talent among its contrib utors. Rev. O. B. Frothingham furnishes to each isaue one of his remarkably brilliant, thoughtful and Of the other more noticeable writers are T. W. Higginson, Geo. S. Burleigh, Ret. Edward C. Towne, and Alice and Phebe Cary. Towne writes a series of articles addressed to Heary Ward Beecher, on the subject of his theological views. which are pointed and searching. The number steadily increase in merit. Its subscription price is \$2 per annum.

DONATION. Rev. L. A. Grimes has received mimunication from Mrs. P. W. Freeman, the lab who drew the cabinet organ placed at raffe is the recent fair at Mercantile Hall, enclosing \$50 for the benefit of the families of our colored soldiers. A sof

FEBR

The No Union BOSTON, FRIDA

TRILE I REHALM IN MY REFRACE OF MODIFY ! BY THE TERMS OF THAT ACTS OF CONGRESS. IF MODE OR NEARS, MAK ERSLAVE SCOR PERSON THE INSTRUMENT TO PER LETTER FR

Last summer, after of Mr. W. T. Carlton titled " WATCH MEE ING FOR THE HOUR under the President 1803-it was deemed be purchased by sub-dect Lincoln as a ma-appreciation of his millions of fetters w. blow was virtually gi tel slavery. The lis. Gov. Audrew, and co spected citizens—the The painting was dul companied by an exp ter to the President; at the White House remained unacknowle ous and appreciative Mr. Lincoln:

Mr Draw Mr. Gan
I have your kind I
can only beg that you
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Waiting for the H
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leisure hour. I have conving at. all. leisure hour. I have or replying at. all.
I hope you will be late, are most cordial, vey them to those as ing and generous giff I am, very truly
Your from WM. LLOTD GARR In the pature of the constantly overwhelm

and the marvel is tha terly broken down b may his days be long GENEROUS AND CH ant and pithy note fr

My DEAR MR. Ga for sent to me, free, fi ple, I presume, that a state of nature, I o preached to me. But preached to me. But at length, that slavery ished, I suppose that ing the Liberator with check for \$25.

Of course, we did the Liberator, either to of nature" on the ar him under any oblig sent the paper as an will. As he would n thanks for his genero

PROMPT KINDNESS lished a touching lette able friend, John Ba pressed his very deep meins would not per tion to the Liberator. to him without charge seen by one of our su lowing appreciative n

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Federal Street. A few days after known) friend was n lowing note :--"To supply Jones

DEAR FRIEND G

'old friend,' whose no for fifteen years." For this double pay the Liberator to anoth the Anti-Slavery cause and by whom the rea prized. Thanks to th EMANCIPATION JU

ston held a meetir Monday evening, to e slavery amendment of States. William We congratulatory remar gathering. The exer the 15th chapter of E Mr. Grimes offered pr ca" was sung by Pro by Rev. J. D. Fulton 8. Rock, Wendell Pl and Hon. George The tended as a special ce the colored citizens o were scarcely any of ing should not have b been fully represented a large attendance of

eting from being a GRAND DEMONSTR Union League Associ tion, at National Hall in honor of the Am bolishing slavery in day evening, Februa livered by distinguish together with a chort children, who perfor direction of William

presentation during THE AMENDMENT amendment by Congre ratified it; Indiana he f her Legislature, an

Carpenter's p Proclamation of Ema Boston to Washington in the rotunda.

The Richmon te had manimor rm 200,000 slaves. the fact that Lee is ve troops, and has recent all sorts of small fire-s

The Biberator.

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to the North (sup-ent secured)—Gen-cipation—you want The Northern con-unconditional, sub-it. But we must all, gentlemen

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No Union with Slaveholders!

MOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1865.

SEPERT THE DECLARATION MADE A YEAR AGO, THAT THE L REMAIN IN MY POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT TO THIS I BERAIN IN MY POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT TO STREAM OF MODIFY THE ENANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, SO MALLE I RETURN TO SLAVERY ANY PERSON WHO IS PREE LYERUS OF THAT PROCLAMATION, OR BY ANY OF THE IT THE TEXAS OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVER ACT OF CONCRESS. IF THE PROPER SHOULD, BY WHATEVER HOLO OR REASON, MANUTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE TER INSTERNESS TO PERFORM IT. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Last summer, after the public exhibition in this city Mr. W. T. Carlton's very meritorious painting, enold Watch Meeting, Dec. 31, 1862-or, Wait-IS FOR THE HOUR"-the Hour of Emancipation other the President's Proclamation of January 1 183-it was deemed eminently fitting that it should purchased by subscription, and presented to Presihe purmane as a mark of personal respect, and warm deal lancona as a man personal respect, and warm milion of fetters were broken, and a death-dealing lior was virtually given to the entire system of chatin slavery. The list of subscribers was headed by gor. Andrew, and composed of some of our most reperied citizens—the sum raised amounting to \$500. The painting was duly forwarded to Washington, ac-The panding an explanatory and congratulatory on the President; but, though the safe arrival of it at the White House was ascertained, its receipt has at the write trouse was succreatived, its receipt has remined unacknowledged till now. The reason for the is satisfactorily given in the following ingenu on and appreciative letter just received by us from

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, 7th February, 1865.

WASHINGTON, 7th February, 1865. §
If Dake Mr. Gairsion:
I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and creasily beg that you will pardon the seeming neglect occasioned by my constant engagements. When I received the spirited and admirable painting, which was been seen and admirable painting, set in acknowledge its arrival at once, preferring to sake my personal acknowledgment of the thought-side of the donors; and waiting for some lister boar, I have committed the discourtesy of not

blaser hour, I may be com-reging at. ali.

Those you will believe that my thanks, though lar, are most cordial, and I request that you will con-tey them to those associated with you in this flatter-

lam, very truly,
Your friend and servant,
A. LINCOLN. WE LLOTD GARRISON, Esq.

In the nature of the case, the President must be constantly overwhelmed with the multifarious duties of his office, aside from all presentations of this kind and the marvel is that he has not long since been utterly broken down by the pressure. Nevertheless, may his days be long in the land!

GENEROUS AND CHARACTERISTIC. Here is a pleas ant and pithy note from Rev. HENRY WARD BEECH-

BROOKLYN, Feb. 4, 1865.

My Dran Mr. Garrison—I have had the Liberates entione, free, for several years; on the principle, I presume, that I needed it. So long as I was in a state of nature, I consented to have a free gospel preached one. But, as I have made up my mind, at length, that slavery is an evil, and ought to be abolithed, I suppose that I can find no good reason for taking the Liberator without paying for it. Please find a deck for \$25.

I am very truly yours,
H. W. BEECHER.

Of course, we did not mean, by sending our friend Liberator, either to imply that he "was in a state of nature" on the anti-slavery question, or to place im under any obligations for receiving it; but we ent the paper as an act of personal esteem and goodvill. As he would not like to have the check he endoses returned to him, he will please accept our thanks for his generous co-operation.

PROMPT KINDNESS. A few weeks since, we pub shed a touching letter from our esteemed and venerable friend, John Bailey, of Lynn, in which he expressed his very deep regret that his limited pecuniary means would not permit his continuing his subscrip tion to the Liberator. We intended to send the paper to him without charge; but, no sooner was his letter seen by one of our subscribers than it elicited the fol-

Boston, January 16th, 1865.

Bear Friend Garrison—Continue to send the formor to our aged friend, John Baller, of Lynn. If some one of quicker thought has got the start of appropriate to the start of appropriate the enclosed Cooperatively yours, when the direction. Very truly yours, R. G.

A few days after the receipt of this, another (un mown) friend was moved to enclose \$3.50 in the fol-

"To supply Jonn Bailey, of Lynn, with the Lib-euter for 1855, and prevent his separation from an 'old friend,' whose noble cause he has nobly supported for fileen years."

for this double payment, we are sending a copy o he Liberator to another poor but meritorious friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, who has labored long therein, and by whom the reading of the paper will be greatly pined. Thanks to the givers!

EMANCIPATION JUBILEE. The colored citizens of Boston held a meeting in the Tremont Temple, on Monday evening, to celebrate the passage of the anti-States. William Wells Brown presided, and in a few congratulatory remarks explained the object of the the loth chapter of Exodus by Rev. Mr. White. Rev. dr. Grimes offered prayer. The song "Vival'Ameriwas sung by Prof. Stewart. Addresses followed y Rev. J. D. Fulton, Rev. William R. Alger, John 8 Rock, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and Hen. George Thompson. Although this was inended as a special celebration of the great event by a colored citizens of Boston, strange to say there fere scarcely any of them present. Either the meet ing should not have been held, or they should have een fully represented on the occasion. Fortunately three attendance of their white friends saved the beeting from being a failure.

BAND DEMONSTRATION. The Colored People's m, at National Hall, Market street, Philadelphia honor of the Amendment to the Constitution bolishing slavery in the United States, on Wedner ay evening, February 15th. Addresses were de ered by distinguished speakers. Music by a band, gether with a chorus, by upwards of one hundred thildren, who performed several pieces, under the Gretion of William A. Burris. There was also presentation during the evening.

The AMEXIMENT. Since the passage of the incomment by Congress, fourteen States have fully bified it; Indiana has ratified it through one house of her I. of her Legislature, and but one State (Delaware) has

Carpenter's picture of the reading of the tion of Emancipation has been ordered from Beauty to Washington. It is to be temporarily hung

The Richmond papers state that the rebel femile had unanimously rejected the proposition to un 200,000 slaves. One reason for this is, probably, the fact that he feet that Lee is very short of arms for his white roops, and has recently issued an order for collecting LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXVII.

NEW YORK, Feb. 9, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Prof. Felton remarked, in his visit to Modern Greece, the injurious effect upon the people of their too frequent holidays. It seems as if our colored fel-low-countrymen were in danger of suffering from the very same cause. The climax is perfect from John Brown and the 2d of December to New Year's Day and the Proclamation, and now to the 31st of January and the Constitutional Amendment. For two consecutive months, the enfranchised race will be natural ly merry, and pardonable if indolent. Nor will our white population be destitute of sympathy in these anniversaries. The difficulty is to entertain feelings commensurate with even the least of them, and no wonder that the last and the greatest is either not celebrated at all, or defies all attempts at adequate expression. We who, by abolishing slavery, have assisted at the birth of a new nation, cannot foresee the man-child's future; or, if a glimpse is had, we fear to be thought extravagant in our predictions. That America, long name for the Old World's oppressed to conjure with, will work abroad hereafter with irresistible potency, must be eviden: to the smallest reflection. A friend of mine, of Teutonic propensities, has set off this idea of republican propagandism in the following verses, which you may print, if you like, in place of my own God's chosen almoners to thine and thee. must be evident to the smallest reflection. A friend DER JUBEL:

DEN 31 STEN JANUAR, 1865. Es schrei'n die Völker freudenreich:
"Die Freihelt kommt zur Erde wieder!
Und ihr Gesicht ist nicht mehr bleich,
Und ketterlos sind ihre Glieder.

Die alte Wund'-wer sie geseh'n, Wer hätt 's geglaubt, sie könnte narben— Das schwarzgekleidte Liebchen steh'n Wie heut' in diesen bellen Farben?

"Sie kommt doch! wehe dem Tyrann'! Kein fester Ort soll ihn beschützen. Der jüngste Tag bricht furchtbar an Dort über seines Schlosses Spitzen.

Sie kommt! die Thure birst entzwei, Die Mauer zerfällt mit Donnerschlage; Da endit sich die Sklaverei, Und ruhet die gewöhnte Klage.

" Der Kerker öffnet sich; die Gruft Hat ihre Opfer hingegeben: Der freie Mensch in freier Luft

been affirmed, the freedmen themselves upon the details. In this we may detect a sufficient (if the only) motive for his visit to Savannah. It is next to be remarked, that the order does not pretend to be a plan of reconstruction for the entire territory in rebellion; its provisions were made to suit a specific emergency, and are to be judged by the conditions which determined them. For instance, there was a certain number of freed people who must be cared for, and a definite district to which they must be assigned. It was desirable to establish families in homesteads, and to this end it was necessary to distribute whatever territory was available. Now, Gen. Butler may be right in decrying the quality of the land which has been allotted, but what else was there to give? The interior of Georgia is unquestionably more salubrious than the coast, and terra firma has an advantage over marsh and fen; but when you are confined to riceland. marsh and fen; but when you are confined to riceland, it is unreasonable to reject it because it will not blossom with cotton. But these islands and river plantations have been the homes of thousands of the blacks, and are confessedly more healthful for them than for the whites. They are also defensible from their isolation, and admit of a naval patrol, which the Government insures them. Forty acres, says Gen. Butler, are not an equivalent for one hundred and sixty. Very true; but suppose the allotment was restricted by the extent of territory; shall some be unprovided for that many may get their due, or all be endowed with something, though it be less than any man's due? Shall we be indignant that those who never owned their own persons, are suddenly invested with permanent abodes, and encouraged to improve their property to the utmost? Let the freedprove their property to the utmost? Let the freedman scorn his quarter-loaf before we counsel him to
starve till the whole loaf can be had. Gen. Butler
omitted to remind his auditors that the bulk of the
population to be furnished with land is composed of
cultivators and artisans, and that it was an especial
favor to the colored soldier to include him among the favor to the colored soldier to include him among the

Where there is only evidence of good intentions, we should be careful not to criticise and condemn as almost criminal the acts of men who are constrained by circumstances in the accomplish ment of their desires.

Notiber is it sensible to cry. "Let the blacks alone." Where there is only evidence of good intentions, we Neither is it sensible to cry, "Let the blacks alone," when the interference consists in establishing them on an independent footing upon their native ground, and in preparing them, however imperfectly, for competition in the marts of industry, and in the regenerated society of the South. Least of all is it fitting, at the funeral obsequies of slavery, to stigmatize an undertaking which denies every fundamental postulate of that system, and by which, for the first time in the history of the war, it is conceded that the prime duty of the black man is not to swell the government treasury by growing government cotton for insufficient wages, but to look after his own interests like any other freeman—the subject of equal laws, yet having a special claim upon the government for assistance and protection, by reason of two centuries assistance and protection, by reason of two centuries of repression and bloody outrage.

M. DU PAYS.

CROWDED. Since the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, our columns have been largely occupied with the report of its proceedings and the speeches of the most prominent speakers—to the exclusion of much other matter, particularly the favors of correspondents, who, by patient waiting, will lose nothing in the end. Next week, we shall publish a full report of the very eloquent speech made at the last evening session by George Thompmade at the last evening session by George Tromrson, Esq.,—a speech which gave the highest satisfaction to those who heard it, reminding them of Mr.

RESPECTED FRIEND-MR. GARRISON. A group of friends, from all our religious societies, beset my house, Tuesday evening, in the shape of "A Surprise," gage me a purse of nearly \$300, and with words of cheer bade me go on in my Temperance

Fitchburg, Feb. 9th, 1865. GEO. TRASK.

A very pleasing "surprise" this must have been to this disinterested and persevering laborer in the field of reform, whose efforts to save men and women from filthy habits and unnatural appetites, as pertaining to the use of strong drink and tobacco, are deserving high praise, and constant generous co-opera-tion. The following is the felicitous poem that was written for the occasion by the gifted Mrs. CAROLINE A. MASON, of Fitchburg, whose effusions entitle her ame to a conspicuous place on the scroll of American

THE SURPRISE POEM.

Behold the sacred promise not in vain: Give, and it shall be given to you again; Who watereth others, lo! himself shall be Watered and cheered, and that abundantly.

O patient hand! that still through toil and doubt Hast held, unflinehing, Truth's bright beacon out; O loyal, steadfast soul! still strong to wield Thy weapon only death can make thee yield! Gird yet thy sword, undaunted, on thy thigh! Heaven is thy champion, angels thine ally! What though thine earthly triumphs seem but small Truth is divine, and God is over all!

And though this offering that we bring is weak, Dear triend, to symbol what our hearts would spea Accept it in His name who bids us bear Each other's burdens: 'tis his work we share.

That thought shall hallow, with a warmer glow, This meed of sympathy that we bestow, Bidding thee still pursue thine upward road, Working for Truth, Humanity, and God.

His hand uphold thee—guide thee as of old ; And when, at length, thy years on earth are told, His mercy crown thee with this sweet award— "Well done! well done! thou servant of the Lord!

CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTH DAY-CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Der freie Mensch in freier Luft
Geniesst das neuerlangte Leben.

"O, wie der ewige Jude, lauf,
"Unsterbliche! bei allen Landen;
Richte die matten Völker auf,
Und die Despoten mach' zu Schanden!"

It was inauspicious that your rejeicing in Boston,
which Gen. Butler styled "the funeral obsequies of
slavery," should have been marred by an attack from
that distinguished leader upon Gen. Sherman's order
of colonization. No one who is acquainted with the
views of Secretary Stanton will doubt that he was
the author of the scheme in its general scope, though
he probably consulted Gen. Sherman, and, it has even
been affirmed, the freedmen themselves upon the details. In this we may detect a sufficient (if the
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DAY—CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

EMANCIPATION was celebrated in this city, on
Thursday, by the ringing of the bells. They were
probably rung in all the cities and towns of the State,
and it is proper that they should be over the whole
land. What a chaĥge of public sentiment does this
indicat! Would the bells of Newburyport have been
ringing four years ago, if Congress had taken like
action! It must have been a glad day to Garrison,
and those who commenced this struggle with him
thirty-fiv

favor to the colored soldier to include him among the recognized applicants for a settlement. As a bounty, this may not be equal to what the white soldier will obtain, but it is all the locality affords, and will be prized by men who have just acquired a right of ownership in themselves. Great complaint is made of the segregation of the blacks, and the stringent exclusion of white residents from these colonies. The phraseology of the order does imply the non-admission of teachers, but Mr. Stanton was far from meaning to obstruct the enlightenment of those for whose material welfare he is so solicitous; and I confidently predict that the various freedmen's associations will find no obstacle to their beneficent labors in the newly opened fields which Gen. Saxton governs.

Where there is only evidence of good intentions, we harded the second of the strategy of the consequences of which was the inspiration of his noble sonnet, "The Free Mind."

MNONG THE CHANGES which events have produced in men and communities may be mentioned the fact, that William Lloyd Garrison has received and accepted an invitation to deliver an address in Newbury-product in the well william Lloyd Garrison has received and accepted an invitation to deliver an address in Newbury-product in the same that will liam Lloyd Garrison has received and accepted an invitation to deliver an address in Newbury-product an invitation to deliver an address in Newb

"In sweet converse pass the joyous hours."

"For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they them-selves will not move them with one of their fingers."

made at the last evening session by George Thompson's cox, Esq.,—a speech which gave the highest satisfaction to those who heard it, reminding them of Mr. Thompson's oratory in his palmy days. The week after, we shall be able to find room for the Report of the Ladies'-Managers of the late Subscription Anniversary at the Music Hall, on which occasion the amount of donations made exceeded there the amount of donations made exceeded the transportance of the following sums as donations to the Liberator from friends abroad, through Samuel May, Jr.:

From Richard D. Webb, Dublin, Ireland, \$35 48 and Miss Mary A. Estlin, Bristol, England, \$30 00 These foreign tokens of interest in the continuance of the Liberator are gratefully appreciated.

THE LATE CONFERENCE.

On Friday last, the President sent a message to Congress, relative to the late Peace Conference. He gives all the particulars in reference to Mr. Blair's visit to Richmond, and how the conference was brought about. Particular instructions were given how the rebel commissioners should pass through our lines, promising them safe conduct and protection. The President communicates copies of all the correspondence in relation to the conference, and his instructions to Mr. Seward, who was directed to confer on the basis of a restoration of the national authority tions to Mr. Seward, who was directed to confer on the basis of a restoration of the national authority—no receding by the Executive on the slavery question—no creasation of hostilities abort of the end of the war, and the disbanding of the rebel forces. Mr. Seward was further instructed that he was not definitely to conclude any arrangement, but to hear all they might choose to say, and report to the President. The President, in the meanwhile, sent an order to Gen. Grant Nor to delay military operations.

Mr. Seward communicated with the President, and the latter went down on representations of Gen. Grant, having previously received a dispatch stating that the Commissioners had accepted the proposed terms on which the conference was to take place.

The Message concludes as follows:—

On the morning of the 3d, the gentlemen, Messra.

The Message concludes as follows:—

On the morning of the 3d, the gentlemen, Messra. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, came aboard of our steamer, and had an interview with the Secretary of State and myself of several hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present. No papers were exchanged or produced, and it was in advance agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On my part, the whole substance of the instructions to the Secretary of State, heretofore recited, was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith; while by the other party it was not said in any event or on any condition they ever would consent to "reunion, and yet they equally omitted to declare that they never woulds so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first, which, as some of them seemed to argue, might not lead to reunion, but which course we thought would amount to an indefinite postponement.

The conference ended without result.

The foregoing, containing, as is believed, all the information sought, is respectfully submitted.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Executive Mansion, Feb. 10, 1865.

To the President of the Confederate States:
Sir: Under your letter and appointment of the 28th, we proceeded to seek an informal conference with Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, upon the subject mentioned in your letter. The conference was granted, and took place on the 30th, on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads, where we met President Lincoln and Hon. Mr. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States. It continued for several hours, and was both full and explicit. We learned from them that the message of President Lincoln to the Congress of the United States in December last, explains clearly and distinctly his sentiments as to the terms, conditions and method of proceeding by which peace can be secured to the people, and we were not informed that they would be modified or altered to obtain that end. We understood from him that no terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement, that no terms or proposals of any treaty or agreement, looking to any ultimate settlement, would be enter-tained or made by him with the authorities of the Confederate States, because that would be a recognitained or made by him with the authorities of the Confederate States, because that would be a recognition of their existence as a separate power, which under no circumstances would be done, and for like reasons that no such terms would be entertained by him from States separately; that no extended truce or armistice as at present advised would be granted or allowed without satisfactory assurances in advance of a complete restoration of the authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States over all places within the States of the Confederacy; that whatever consequences may follow from the re-establishment of that authority must be accepted, but that the individuals subject to pains and penalties under the laws of the United States might rely upon a very liberal use of the power confided to him to remit those pains and penalties, if peace be restored.

During the conference, the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, adopted by Congress on the 31st ult., were brought to our notice. These amendments provide that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, should exist within the United States, or any place within their jurisdiction, and Congress should have power to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation.

Very respectfully your obedient servants,

very respectfully your obedient servants,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, R. M. T. HUNTER, J. A. CAMPBELL.

Jeff. Davis has sent a message to the rebel Congress saying in substance that Lincoin refused an armistice of any length, refused recognition either of the Confederacy or any State composing it, refused independence, and only conceded the merciful and liberal exercise by himself of the pardoning power. During the conference he communicated the passage by Congress of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, and declared that the question was wholly removed from his control and placed beyond negotiation.

By Finance Co

tion.

The Richmond Enquirer of the 6th says: "Submission, abolition and reconstruction were the only terms that could be got out of Lincoln and Seward by the Peace Commissioners. Hence the South has only to fight." It also says this result will have the effect to unite the people more closely and strongly than ever. If defeated and destroyed, those who survive will have nothing worse to submit to than is now demand.

charlotte A. Joy
The Sentinel says the South has been insulted. It regards the passage of the Constitutional Amendment as an outrage, an upturning of the accial institution Mrs. Wm. Ives of the South, and robbery of its citizens. Lincoln's prepositions were that the South should lay down their arms and disperse to their homes, and he would appoint for the Confederate States Marshals, Attornove and indoes for the United States Courts: that R. Howland appoint for the Confederate States Marshals, Attorneys and judges for the United States Courts; that in executing the confiscation law he would do it as leniently as possible; that he would treat neither with the Confederate States nor any State separately; that he will listen to nothing short of unconditional submission to the Constitution and the laws passed under it; that the slavery question was disposed of and not now to be discussed.

Governor Smith of Virginia calls a meeting to respond to Lincoln's answer to the rebel commissioners. The Sentinel endorses the call, and says: "Let us put our heel on Lincoln's insolent insult, and return defiance to his menaces.

The Sentine endorses the call, and says: "Let us put our beel on Lincoln's insolent insult, and return defiance to his menaces.

THE SPIRIT OF THE REBEL LEADERS. Mr. Jefferson Davis proclaims the tenth of March next as a day for "public fasting, humiliation, and prayer, with thanksgiving to Almighty God." He exhorts the South to pray, in conclusion, "that the Lord of Hosts will be with our [Confederate] armies, and fight for us against our enemies, and that he will graciously take our cause into his own hand, and mercifully establish for us a lasting, just and honorable peace and independence."

A daily journal says truly that this proclamation is near to sacrilege. The rebel President asks Divine favor for the acts which the rebels have committed during the last four years: favor for a conspiracy to subvert the only nation in Christendom wherein a man is permitted to "worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience;" favor for a cause which is founded upon the worst system of human oppression, in direct contravention to that "new commandment" which is the foundation of the Christian religion; favor for a cause that has drenched a nation with blood and caused sorrow to pervade every hamlet; favor for a rebellion that seeks to subvert right and build up a fabric dedicated to oppression and wrong.

WEST VIRGINIA FREE. The Constitution under which West Virginia was admitted into the Union prohibited slavery only after a term of years. Now both houses of her Legislature have concurred in the following, which becomes law immediately on the approval of the Governor:

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

"Breasurer's results of the contraversion in the following, which becomes law immediately on the approval of the Governor:

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

"Breasurer's results of the contraversion of the Governor:

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

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"Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Vir-

Gen. Sherman set apart the South Carolina coast islands for the Georgia negroes freed by his army. If the rebels persist in their refusal to treat, we hope the Government will set apart the whole South for the negroes or whoover else desires to settle there.—Newthernow: Herild

WELL CHOSEN MOTTOES.

At the celebration, last month, of the anniversary of the President's Emancipation Proclamation by the colored citizens of Philadelphia, among the numerous mottoes displayed by them were the following:—

"I call the American war an aristocratic rebells against democratic government."—Richard Cobden.

"Oh! fear not the slave when he breaks from his chai The man made a freeman grows asfe in his gain."

Frederick Schiller. Daniel O'Cennell, Father Theobald, and 60,000 oth

Daniel O'Cosnell, Father Theobald, and 60,000 other Irishmen, wrote to Irishmen in America these words:

"Oppose slavery by all the peaceful means in your power. Join with the Abolitionists everywhere; they are the consistent advocates of liberty. Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and slavery for the black man; and that you are for liberty for all, of every color, oreed and country."

The great emancipationists of this country: Daniel O'Connell and Abraham Lincoln.

"There is an indiscipation union between witter and here."

"There is an indiscoluble union between virtue and hap-piness—between duty and advantage."— Washington's Fare-well Address.

well Address.

Maryland recognites the wisdom of the advice, and conforms to it by emancipation.

The colored race fought in the Revolution, and under Jackson, Perry, Stewart, Decatar, Bainbridge, and other beroes, against English aristoracy and tyranny; and they will always be found on the side of justice.

Referring to the adoption of the Constitutiona Amendment by Congress, an exchange says:— Amendment by Congress, an exchange says:—
This result is a memorable victory far greater tflan any the nation has gained since it secured its independence. Amid the exciting events surrounding us caused by our efforts to maintain that independence, we cannot appreciate the successful culmination of all our labors to bring about so great a result, but it is there nevertheless, and Jan. 31, 1865, will be regarded as the day of the nation's deliverance from the prison-house of bondage. "O day of glory, and of triumph too!"

Daniel Webster was born January 18, 1782, and died October 24, 1852, aged 70 years, 9 months and six days; Edward Everett was born April 11, 1794, and died January 15, 1865, aged 70 years, 9 months and 4 days. The difference between their ages at the time of death was therefore only two days.

Theodore Tilton, in a recent address at Chica-Theodore Tilton, in a recent address at Chicago, denounced, with deserved severity, the infamous Black laws of Illinois. A colored man heard him with delight. He was a fugitive from slavery, but is now an opulent merchant. He entertained Mr. Tilton at a splendid banquet; everything being in the highest style of sumptuousness; even the table-cloth and bill of fare being of white satin.

Ladies with Southern sympathies in Washington and Baltimore have a new way of "distinguishing" themselves now. Instead of wearing red and white feathers, they wear two curls over the left

A great fire occurred in Philadelphia on the 8th inst., which destroyed 20 lives, 100 buildings, and \$500,000 worth of property.

PLEDGES To Massachusetts A. S. Society, at Annual Meeting January, 1865. Wendell Phillips, George Thompson,
Mrs. Mary May,
Samuel May, Jr.,
Jas. M. W. Yerrinton,
E. H. Day, Lewiston, Me.,
Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam,

COLLECTIONS Bu Finance Committee, Annual Meeting, January, 1865 \$ 100 Robert R. Crosby 11 00 D. B. Bartlett 1 00 H. W. Blanchard J. B. Marvin 1 00 Mrs. Daniel Mitcl 0 50 T. B. Drew 5 00 C. P. Drew 1 00 Richard Clapp 1 00 T. G. Elliott 200 J. Haysan 1 00 P. King 1 00 W. Wilson 2 00 R. S. Jameson 1 00 L. L. O. Jameson 1 00 S. H. Cowing 1 00 LaRoy Sunderland 1 00 LaRoy Sunderland 2 00 George M. Rogers 1 00 Miss Emerson 3 00 Miss M. Paine 50 Frederick Douglass 50 William 1 00 William Sparrell 1 00 Alvan & Nancy Hor 1 00 Abby A. Bennett 2 00 Edward B. Perkin 5 00 M. H. L. Cabot 1 00 Mrs. Mary May 2 00 Mrs. Sarah R. May 5 00 James N. Buffum 0 50 Edmund Quincy 1 00 J. T. Sargent 5 00 Mrs. J. T. Sargent 5 00 Samuel Barrett 0 50 E. D. Draper 1 00 E. B. Chace 2 00 S. O. Chace 2 00 S. O. Chace
1 00 Lillie B. Chace
1 00 Samuel May, Jr.,
1 00 A Friend
2 00 E. Allen
1 00 M. B. C.
1 00 Mary C. Sawyer
0 50 J. Sawyer
1 00 E. A. Spring
1 00 H. Willey
2 00 Mrs. S. S. Russell
1 00 W. L. Garrison
1 00 Cornelius Cowing
1 00 "Friends," in varie

MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of West Virginia:

1. All persons held to service or labor as slaves in this State are hereby declared free.

2. There shall hereafter be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Negro Soldiers, handlers and probably made no resistance, as no attack was expected. The robbers shot them down in cold blood, and a gentleman who has visited the scene of butchery counted thirty-fave dead bodies lying in and near the road. It is known that not one of the guerillas was wounded.

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Total

PR. 1864. For balance,

Samuel May, Jr., for salary and expenses as

General Agent,

Expenses of Annual Meeting in 1864, 158 25

Rent of office one year,

400 00

R. F. Wallcut, salary as Depository Agent, 639 75

J. M. W. Yerrinton, for reporting,

Expenses of New England Anti-Slavery Convention,

vention,

7 C. Burleigh, attending Convention,

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Jan. 28. By collections at Annual Meeting,

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Jan. 28. By collections at Annual Meeting,

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\$2112 81 EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

Jan. 2, 1866. I have examined the accounts of Edmund Jackson, as Treasurer of the Mass. A. S. Society for the year 1864, and find the same correctly cast an Henry S. Foote sailed for Europe on Saturday in the steamer City of Cork.

Jan. 2, 1866. I have examined the accounts of Edmund Jackson, as Treasurer of the Mass. A. S. Society for the year 1864, and find the same correctly cast and properly vouched—and the above abstract is correct.

WM. I. BOWDITCH, Auditor.

THIRD EDITION.

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC FOR 1865. The third edition of this popular Annual now ready.

In addition to the usual CALENDAR AND ASTRONOMICAL LCULATIONS, it contains :

United States Government, Ministers, &c. Senators and Representatives of XXXVIIIth Congress.

XXXIXth Congress, so far as chosen.

Laws passed at the last Session of Congress.

Public Resolutions and Proclamations. Party Platforms of 1864, (Baltimore and Chicago.) The Rebel Government, Congressmen, &c. Slaveholders' Rebellion, or Chronicle of War Events. Native States of the American-born People.
Election Return, for President, Governors, Congressmen,

Ac., in 1864, compared with the Presidential Vote in tate Capitals, Governors, Salaries, Time Legislatures

meet, Time of State Elections. Territorial Capitals and Governors.

Popular vote by States in 1834, 1860, and 1864. te of 1860 elaborately analyzed and compared, by Pop ulation, Free and Slave, with percentage, &c.

PRICE 20 CENTS. SEVEN COPIES FOR ONE DOL-Orders (enclosing cash) should be addressed:

THE TRIBUNE.

MARRIED-In Fairlee, (Vt.) 7th inst., by Rev. Mr. McAllister, Mr. FRANK M. YERRINTON, of Boston, to Miss NELLIE M., eldest daughter of the late Calvin S.

A FARM OF 1500 ACRES

Waterman, Esq., of the former place.

FOR SALE.

THE St. Mary's Lake Farm, 3 1-2 miles North from the city of Battle Creek, Calhoun county, Michigan, is offered for sale. The proprietor wishing to retire, offers this Farm for sale on reasonable terms as to price and time of payments. The Farm consists of 1500 aeres of as rich agricultural land as can be found in the Northern States; 1000 aeres of which are improved in the best manner. There are on this farm thirty-seven miles of rail and board fence, mostly new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most beautiful sheets of clear crystal water in the country, and one of the finest fishing lakes in the State. This lake is in the centre of the farm, and is a mile and a quarter long by one third of a mile wide. The surroundings of this lake are unsurpassed for beauty of severy. There are some eight or ten beautiful sites for residences on either side of the lake. No low marshy grounds connected with the shore of the lake. The beauty of severy. There are some eight or ten beautiful sites for residences on the west side of the farm. The buildings are, the large Farm House, 88 by 56 feet, elevated 50 feet above the lake, commanding a view of a great portion of the farm and of the lake; also, a large frame Boarding-House, and seven frame Tenements; two large Barns, 153 by 70 feet each, with stabling bolow for 130 head of cattle; also, four other Barns, 500 by 40 feet; also, a Steam Circular Saw Mill, 80 by 60 feet—said to be one of the best mills in the State; an Orchard of 800 apple and 1200 of the choicest peach trees, all in fine bearing order; 350 standard pear trees, a large number of plums, cherries, quinces, and a great quantity of grapes and small fruits, too numerous to mention. Perhaps there is not a 1500 aere farm in the Union better adapted to eatile and sheep-raising than is this farm, every field of which has never-failing water. The land is moderately rolling, and ne outlay need ever be made for manures. There is one of the best markets in the State, and is 120 miles west and 162 miles cast from Chicago on th

HENRY WILLIS.

Battle Creek, Nov. 18, 1864.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, FOR THE RAPID CURE OF

Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptioe Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

So wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous are the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons publicly known, who have been restored from slarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other expectorant is too apparent to escape observation: and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidot to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust apon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten.

We can only assure the public, that its quality is carefully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may We can only assure the public, that its quality is care fully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done.

Great numbers of clergymen, physicians, statesmen, and eminent personages, have lent their names to certify the unparalleled usefainess of our remedies, but space here will not permit the insertion of them. The agents below named furnish gratis the AMERICAN ALMANAC, in which they are given; with also full descriptions of the complaints they cure.

plaints they cure.

These who require an alterative medicine to purify the blood will find Aven's Comp. Ext. Sarsapanilla the remedy to use. Try it once, and you will know its value.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all druggists.

Jan. 6.

MR. GARRISON'S PORTRAIT. THE Portrait of Mr. Garrison, the publication of which has been delayed in consequence of the severe and protracted illness of the artist engaged in transferring it to stone, is now ready, and will be furnished to subscribers immediately. Orders may be addressed to R. F. Wallcur, Esq., Liberator office, or to the Publisher. Price 31.50 per copy.

It is a portrait which, as a work of art and as a likeness, gives great satisfaction.

ness, gives great satisfaction.

Ecston, Dec. 20 1864. IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing,

"WITHOUT SMUTTING." MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from
223 Washington Street, to
No. 31 WINTER STREET,
where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has
for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there
are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.
Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being
made from the roots and herbs of the forest.
She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this
country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before
using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from
turning grey.

using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She alap has another for restoring grey hair to its natu-ral color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

No. 31 Winter Street, Boston

// | | / / - -((())))) ()/シャー)(/ A Li. interested in Phonographic Shorthand should send for the PHONOGRAPHIC VISITOR, No. 4, sevan cents. Nos. I, 2, 3 and 4 now ready, 22 cents. Address ANDREW J. GRAHAM,
491 Broadway, New York.

A. J. GROVER, ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW,

Orrawa, La Salle Co., Illinois. Special attention given to securing and collecting aims for Eastern Merchants.

References:
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., Beston.
A. L. PAINE, Esq., Suffolk Bank, do.
FARWELL, FIELD & Co., Chicago, Illinois
STEVENS & BARNUS, Washington, D. C.

Loetry.

MY KING. BY AUGUSTA COOPER KINBALL.

If my soul has a king, it knows well where to find him Though Fate guards the secret with vigilant care; And I patiently wait with the crown Love has twined

God tells me the place, and I know he is there: Where Liberty's eagle From Tyranny's beagle

Has torn out the heart, I shall find him-my king. He wears not a badge upon bosom or shoulder, As sign of distinction; but angels can see, Throughout army and host, not an arm can strike bolds For Country, and Justice, and Freedom, than he ; Not choosing his mission

For gain or position, He counts with our saviors, that private-my king. And he thinks every foot is the foot of a brother, That follows the light of the Federal stars ; Though darker the brow or the race is another, The manhood's proved under the red and white bars ; "Who bears well a rifle

Is brother and man," says the voice of my king. His strong tawny hand, labor-hardened, is royal; Lip, touch with thy honey and velvet, his palm ; The pulse 'neath his blue coat is steadily loyal; Oh, Love in my breast, save thy odor and balm ! With thy wealth clothe and cover My grand hero-lover!

Bring out thy hid treasures, anoint him my king ! His feet will not halt on the wearisome marche Nor falter from duty, nor loiter for rest; But forward, till Liberty's bow overarches Columbia's soil from the east to the west : O, soldier-feet speeding, Though shoeless and bleeding, I bow to thy footprint,-I kneel to my king.

Forget not, my soul, in thy pure adoration, 'Tis true blood alone that can ransom the nation, And tranquillize Justice for Africa's thrall; For the crimson that's given Is demanded by Heaven : O, send thy Samaritans, God, to my king !

Seek, heavenly Commission, the wounded and dying Where Liberty's vanguard stands firm as a rock ; Where the old banner waves, red Rebellion defying, And our Eagle soars calm o'er the fierce battle shock My own hero-lover !

Thou blessed Evangel, restore me my king! For he Liberator.

SLAVERY'S DEATH-KNELL. · P 2, .565.

BY LATY CARLISLS Die, die, thou monster ! Dost not hear, On every breeze's swell,

How, tolled by glad hands joyfully, Rings forth thy passing knell ! Thy hand, thou fiend, was raised to strike One last and deadly blow; To lay, 'neath mad rebellion's knife, Our young Republic low !

Oh ! wild and fierce the struggle rose ! Free blood like rain was poured; Yet in that blinding strife few saw What hand upraised the sword.

At last, by cannon's murderous glare, And red shell's fearful shine, own watchful through defeat, men saw Th' assassin's hand was thine

So they have tracked thee to thy den, Where thou dost trembling lie-The righteous sentence bath gone forth.

Five years ago, our helpless hands Wrung with despairing cry, We saw thy victims turn to The dying, pleading eye.

Ye martyred saints! look earthward now, Lean from your blessed skies! Is not the light that floods von heaven The joy-light of your eyes?

Ve new-freed millions ! Gon's hand frees. Not earthly power or might ; With conscious Freedom's light!

And you, ye miscreants of the North, So lost to sense of shame, Who still would wield the lash, and make

This freedom but a name-Lift that new voke your hands have forced. Put down your greed of pelf, And let the Freedman "organize"

Seek not to guard his rights, nor prop What best can stand alone, But put a ballot in his hand

And let him guard his own ! So shall Virginia's purple peaks How not in vain, by rock and flood, New England's heroes fell.

So shall our freedom, root-fast here Bear fruit in Southern sun ; And our fair land, from strand to strand, Be Heaven on Earth begun. Boston, 1865.

MISSOURI AND NEW YORK. "Free Missouri greets you!"—[F. C. FLETCHER, Gov. "God bless Free Missouri!"—[R. E. FENTON.

Listen ! ye, whom Fortune raiseth To the hills where Honor bleseth . Listen! ye, whose lowlier station Waits and works in long probation ; 'Tis not man nor Fate that giveth : For the Lord our God yet liveth

Sunbeams, through the dust of trial. Point the hour on Victory's dial ; Crucibled from dross and ashes, Still the crown of triumph flashes : And from Midnight's womb of sorrow Comes the new-born king-"To-Morrow !"

O'er the New Year sweetly regnant; Out of Slavery's tomb emergent LIBERTY her shackles rendeth-LIBERTY, like Christ, ascendeth ! O! my Heart! look up and hearken!

Out of Christmas days benignant,

Let no doubt thy gladness darken !--Hear that Voice, on lightning's pinion, Thrill and fill the soul's don And with gospel grand and certain, Lift and rift the Future's curtain!

Make the giant Lakes their warders From Niagara's awful verges ! List, O, list ! these words of fire-Thou, whose watchword still is "Higher!"

Listen, Land of mine, whose borders

Oft, full oft, in love, low pleading, Thou hast prayed for Freedom bleeding; Prayed the South with accents ruthful, Prayed the South with friendship truthful; Now she answers-now she meets you-Listen : " FREE MISSOURI GREETS YOU !"

O! that Voice, on wings of lightning, All the glorious Future brightening; 0 ! that Voice, with virgin yearning Seeking Love's divine returning ;

Soaring up, from shackles riven,

And, from large imperial bosom, Rich with Freedom's fruit and blos Brave New York, whose bannered story Climbs " Excelsior" hills of glory. Shouting, "God BLESS FREE MISSOURI !" South to North, with Freedom's greeting,

North to South her prayers repeating; From the Hudson's silvery sources, Freedom's tides, at ocean's portal, Mingling life and strength in Mingling, as in old caressings,

Mutual prayers and mutual blessings ; Northern brother, Southern sister, Twined in Francoon's arms, have kissed her; Northern sister—Southern brother— God be praised! they find their Mother!

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. M. F. CONWAY, Delivered at the Banquet in Honor of Senator Lane, at Leavenworth, Kansas.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I rejoice to be here on this festive occasion unite with you in this celebration of a great triumph.

I see around me many of the old familiar faces—
many of the pioneers of freedom—the men of '56—
with whom I first became acquainted ten years ago,
and together with whom I passed through that
grand struggle for free institutions which here took place—a struggle, which, in its consequences, has revolutionized the nation, changed the destinies of the Continent, and forever identified the name of Kansas with the cause of American progress. Gladly do I embrace the opportunity to renew that old communion of thought and feeling which was before

so strong a bond between us.

We are here to do especial honor to our distin-Senator, General Lane, guished and most able whom the Legislature has again commissioned to represent the State in the Senate of the United

I thank you for the privilege of being present to render my respects to one who is so signally deserv-ing the esteem and gratitude of the people of Kan-

But happy as I am to be with you on account of the exciting reminiscences which this occasion revives, and the opportunity it affords of doing homage to an eminent public servant, my gratification is exceedingly enhanced by being invited to respond to the sentiment proposed in honor of His Excellency, the President of the United States.

To be President of the United States is in my judgment, Mr. President, the greatest distinction that can be conferred on any individual of the huthat can be conterred on any individual of the hu-man race. To be the one of twenty millions chosen by free suffrage to preside over the destinies of the leading power of the American Continent implies a character for native consideration and worth beyond that of any Prince or Potentate on earth.

that of any Prince or Potentate on earth.

The present incumbent of this high station is a man of the people. No higher tribute can be paid to his eminent merit than that recently rendered by his countrymen in refusing to permit him to from his office at the end of his official term. safe to say that the reelection of Mr. Lincoln was due entirely to popular favor, and not in any degree ditical artifice. The aspiring politicians were ast Mr. Lincoln, but the virtuous masses were for him. In the dangers which surrounded the country, there were none beside to whose wisdom and virtue they were willing to confide (over his) the control of the national destinies. This of itself speaks a praise which only the most commanding a rich merchant and noted citizen named Fav. with ould elicit. The first thing which strikes us in contemplation

The first thing which strikes us in contemplating the character of the President is the quality which I have observed to belong to all truly great men, that of simplicity. Mr. Lincoln is a perfectly natural man. This is why he has always been called "Honest Abe." People see that he has no pretension—no ostentation. He proposes to take credit for nothing which does not belong to him. "Great in his simplicity as kings are little in their grandeur." I have seen, in my time, not a few of those whom I have seen, in my time, not a few of those whom the world calls great; and I find that this is the best the world caus great; and I and that this is to much to hope that New York will do the sam test by which to distinguish the genuine from the spurious article. While sufficiently observant of the conventionalities of society, Mr. Lincoln is not a man ed citizens to vote, provided they have lived twice and the same that the conventionalities of society, Mr. Lincoln is not a man nventionalities of society, Mr. Lincoln is not a man forms or ceremonies. He despises shams. He clothes himself with no mock dignity; plays no fanbelieves in reali or Franklin, or Jackson. He being himself a reality; and in his contact and dealing with others, handles himself as if conscious of being one of the elementary forces of nature.

heart, and sees the ludicrous side of human nature, heart, and sees the ludicrons side of human nature, not with the eye of a cynic but with the genial sympathy of a man and a brother. His extraordinary propensity to tell funny stories is but an indication of a large and charitable nature, endowed with a keen it dependent upon the color of the hair or the breadth of the

mused at the short-comings of his fellow-men, The next quality which seems to me most distin-uishes our illustrious Chief Magistrate is his magnanimity. I believe Mr. Lincoln to be less affected America. He nates notody, nor does ne permit the property of the same for centuries, there would be exactly the same for centuries, there would be exactly the same for centuries to the material aversion. To them which is gravely allegwill be remembered how he refused to resort to the dby many otherwise sensible people against the usual chicanery of politics in his contest with Judge Trumbull, for the Senate in 1855; and withdrew his name under circumstances which extorted praise even from his enemies. I do not believe he gratification at his reelection was not enhanced by the reflection that others were suffering the mortifi-cation of defeat. Intensely as he has been assailed, vilified, and ridiculed, by the rebel leaders and their newspaper press, both at home and abroad, I am sat-isfied that even Jeff. Davis himself, were he a tried magnanimity for any consideration and elemency which justice would permit to be exercised in his behalf.

Say nothing except good of the dead," is a maximum which in ordinary times and concerning ordinary men may be well enough, but it does not apply to half. and convicted traitor, would rely upon Mr. Lincoln's

With regard to he President's ability as a opinion is not as prevalent now as it was. The of the perjored crew who were many of President is recognized by all these fine gentlemen rushing to ruin, and became a leader among literati, exquisites, professors of law, divinity, &c.,

Thenceforth all his efforts were turned to resident is recognized by all these fine gentlemen rushing to ruin, and became a leader among traitors.

Theneeforth all his efforts were turned to the detroic be a person of some knowledge of affairs, and no little skill in running a Government. He played out all the aspirants for the presidential such and the bloody bushwhacker. The leaders of these

You will remember, no doubt, that as your Representative in the 37th Congress, I deemed it my duty to dissent from the earlier war policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration. I avail myself of this occasion to say, what I said at the time, and what I have

I inclined, however, to a different idea. I was in flacined, nowever, to a different idea. I was in favor of liberating the nation from the domination of slaveholders—Union or no Union. This was my own individual sentiment, and I believed it to be also the sentiment of Kansas.

The President sought the destruction of slavery; but above this he sought the restoration of the

I desired the restoration of the Union, but above

this I sought the destruction of slavery.

Mr. Lincoln would have secured the Union in any event; I would have preferred to secure freem in any event. It was manifest, however, that in these views th

It was mannes, nowever, that it these views the sentiment of the country was with the President, and not with me; but knowing as I did the President's respect for the will of the people, my hope was to assist in developing a public sentiment, which, while demanding, would authorize the most radical measures against a return of the slaveholders (as such) to their former power in the Union. their former power in the Union.

In doing so, however, I was inspired by no factious or inimical spirit towards the President or any of his

advisers, but solely by a conscientious conviction of public duty. This issue, however, has long since passed away, and forever. We are called upon to

ew responsibilities.

President, in his sublime discretion, ha wrought out for us a deliverance from slavery through pre-existing forms. He has maintained the integrity of our constitutional system, but has equal-ly assured us against the "Union as it was." The Slave Power is annihilated. Union and Liberty are no longer in conflict, but made one and inseparable, now and forever. Our country is regenerated. It is established upon the immutable foundation of justice. To the patriotic imagination the fuoms up in glorious outlines. Our country's is onward. It is to control the American ent to the purposes of a redeemed and regenhumanity. This is our sublime mission. erated humanity. This is our sublime mission.

To Abraham Lincoln let us look in the future with a confidence springing from the teachings of the past. Let us give him all the strength which our cordial and united support can inspire.

THE BLACK LAWS.

Illinois has repealed her black laws, and indeed she could hardly help wiping the stain from her face when her neighbor Missouri was lifting her whole body out of the slough. The black laws of Illinois, though Illinois is a free State, were as muc Illinois, though lilinois is a free State, were as intended a part of the code of slavery as any slave law of Arkansas or Mississippi; for they were the work of what was called the Democratic party, and that party was the minister of slavery. In Illinois, for party was the minister of slavery. In Illinois, for instance, all colored persons were presumed to be slaves unless they could prove themselves to be free in other words, were held to be guilty until the proved their innocence; thus directly reversing the first humane maxim of the common law. By an-other act, if any negro or mulatto came into the State and staid ten days, he was to be fined fifty dollars, and sold indefinitely to pay the fine.

dollars, and sold indefinitely to pay the fine.

We read such things incredulously, in the light of to-day. The wicked folly of selecting for outrage a special class of the population, and that class the most innocent and defenceless, is so like a caprice of Ashantee society, or a measure of Patagonian states manship, that it is quite impossible to believe that i was tolerated in the great, prosperous, and enlight-ened State of Illinois. It explains the curiously in-human and heartless tone of Mr. Donglas in speaking of the colored race. He lived in the senseless and fierce prejudice, and he rose by pan-dering to it.

The black laws of Illinois were another proof of

the fearful demoralization which slavery had wrought in this country, and upon which it counted for easy success in its rebellion. When slavery saw for easy success in its rebellion. When slavery saw that Pierce and Buchanan, too successive Presidents, were its most abject tools; when it saw every North-ern city ready to take by the throat any man who denounced it; when it saw even in the Mayor of the city, turning a meeting for con-demnation of slavery into the street; when it read such laws as these of Illinois; when it saw the city of New York cringing beneath its frown and fawning upon its contemptuous smile, how could it help believing that Franklin Pierce wrote the truth to Jefferson Davis when he said that blood would flow this side of Mason and Dixon's line rather than the other, and suppose with Robert Toombs that any man could drink al! the olood that would be shed in

the war? war? Now that Illinois has repealed her black laws, as long in the State and county, and paid twice a much tax as any other voter. The other voters may ignorant and brutal sots, who are nuisances an pests in any country, and these may be intelligent, industrious, thrifty, valuable citizens; but the Constitution of New York, enslaved by the same mean ing one of the elementary forces of nature.

The President's humor is one of the leading traits of his character. He has an instinctive kindness of are politically preferable to intelligence and thrift. If intelligence is to be the condition of active citi

pensity to tell funny stories is but an indication of arge and charitable nature, endowed with a keen ight into motives, and not distressed so much as used at the short-comings of his fellow-men.

The next quality which seems to me most distinshes our illustrious Chief Magistrate is his magnishes our illustrious Chief Magistrate illustrious Chief which arbitrarily and forcibly makes color the sign of hopeless servitude. If red-haired men or men d narrow sentiments than any man in of hopeless servitude. If red-haired men or men He hates nobody, nor does he permit over six feet in height were enslaved and embruted

blored race.
Missouri has emancipated herself; Illinois ha thrown off her black laws. Suppose that sensible men and women now emancipate themselves from the black law of a most cruel and senseless preju-

THE DEATH OF A BAD MAN.

" Say nothing except good of the dead," is a max

When a man like him prostitutes great ability and When a man like him prostitutes great ability and a statesman, there is much less difference of opinion now than formerly. It was quite common at the beginning of his administration to hear him described (notwithstanding his masterly canvass against Douglas in 1856,) as a man of second-rate powers. It was thought by gentlemen in the Eastern cities—collegians, savants and the like—to be impossible for one who had passed his whole life at the Bar of a small town in the West to have any special ability for anything. It is hardly necessary to say that this opinion is not as prevalent now as it was. The President is recognized by all these fine gentlemen played out all the aspirants for the presidential succession with a dexterity and grace delightful to behold; and in writing his State papers has given an example to the scholars and rhetoricians who set themselves up for statesamen, by which they will do well to profit. In short, it is now pretty generally conceded that Mr. Lincoln, as President of the United States, entirely "fills the bill."

And the bloody bushwhacker. The leaders of these outlaws acted under commissions bearing the sign-manuel of String Price. Time and again he invaded the State with hungry hordes of desperadoes, spreading desolation and distress in his track. Death overtook him just returned from the last of these raids conceded that Mr. Lincoln, as President of the United States, entirely "fills the bill." one in which he had linked himself with the worst and most brutal guerrillas, and had made himself a participating criminal in their bloody and cruel deeds. As the fruit of his wicked career, Sterling Price could look upon this State desolated and ravaged by a cruel war He could behold its once happy to dissent from the earlier war policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration. I avail myself of this occasion to say, what I said at the time, and what I have
often said since, that this action of mine was dictated
by no ill-feeling towards the President, by no want
of confidence in his ability or integrity, by no dimnution of that high respect for his magnanimous
character which I had always entertained.

In my discussion of the views and policy of the
President, my motive was that of the friendly agitator, not of the hostile partizan. My intention was
to operate on the minds of the people, not to incite
opposition to the administration in order to defeat it.

It has always been the view of the President that
he is but the instrument of the national will; and
he is but the instrument of the national will; and
that whatever may be his own predilections or wishes, with regard to either men or measures, he is not
at liberty to place them above or against the sentiment of the country.

The paramount object of the President was to
restore the Union—the fundamental proposition of
his system, that the Union was incapable of being
broken. aged by a cruel war

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD EVERETT.

women of forty know how often and how endly the budding hope becomes witted, the expectation in disappointed, the promise, expressed or implied, is broken. This, too, is a grievous and quite painful Extract from a discriminating and an appropriate Disourse, entitled "A MENORIAL OF EDWARD EVERETT," preached in Derchester, (Mass.) by NATHANIEL HALL:— But while honor is due for the mere cultivation, in itself considered, of faculty and gift, much more is it for their exercise in behalf of high and worthy ends. Mr. Everett's career eminently demands of us this greater honor. It has been an almost unbroken term of devoted public service. Some of the dearest interests of the community, some of the highest concernments of State, some of the highest concernments of State, some of the noblest measures of philanthropy and patriotism, stand in incalculable indebtedness, not more to his persuasive oratory than to his wealth and profoundness of acquisition, his habitual and conscientious thoroughness of investigation, his patient and self-devoting industry. What various offices has he filled! We might almost ask what important office has he not filled? And with what distinguished ability! What archubiasms of sentiment have been aroused by his appeals! What new and charmful interest imparted, by his presentation and advocacy of them, to themosh historical, biographical, literary, political; belonging to the domain of letters and of affairs; addressed to men of thought and of action, to the scholar and the halvest Novigh and the services since the first has continued the strain; and wer fear that the last wail of the same flooting) to whom a promise or a prospect of marriage has been held out, kill, of his or her own motion, the party who fails to come to terms or to time? May she or be lay in wait with pistel or knife, and deliberately proceed to butcher the first dear one who has been, or is imagined to be, guilty of the wrong?

There is no doubt that a portion of the American epople believe that this is a right that belongs to at least one of the sexes. The lavish sympathy that has been bestowed upon Miss Harris, in Washington, the large number of grave Senators and emin persons who rushed to her cell to condole with her in misfortane, the eagerness of distinguished counsel to take u But while honor is due for the mere cultivation, in onsel to take up her detence gratuitously, and the to men of thought and of affairs; addressed to men of thought and of action, to the scholar and the laborer! No idler was he in this world-field; no trifler with his great and shining powers. Amidst the thronging instances of perverted talents, of deservated genius, he stands in glorious contrast, stands agreed incitement. In order to reader the honor than the more than the stands of the individual case; for in the instance now uncared genius, he stands in glorious contrast, stands deep the case of the individual case; for in the instance now uncared genius, he stands in glorious contrast, stands deep the case of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while giving the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of the local press while give the details—all show that in this case, as in so many of traited gettines, as a grand incitement. In order to render due honor to this fact of his career, there is need that we appreciate the peculiar temptations which beset the possessors of brilliant and commanding gifts; which beset him, there is reason to believe, in some of their forms, with peculiar force. His love of approval and applause was a marked tendency of his nature; forms, with peculiar force. His love of approval and applause was a marked tendency of his nature; of the relations of the one to the other. If Miss Harris may be excused for killing a love fostered and fed from early boyhood by largest measures of what it coveted. Few, probably, have lived more continually in an atmosphere of adula-tion. It could have been by no common strength deress who bereaved her of the husband she loved that he rose above its snares and debilitations, and kept so greatly his manhood. And if not wholly, in certain instances, as some may think, let this which has been named, together with a natural conservation, a constitutional timidity, a peculiar sensitivement are reverted to the original condition of selfthe influence of circumstances who ture and force we may not know,-let these temper the judgment they may not wholly reverse. His honor is not that of a reformer. His place is not in that martyr-line, shining through the mists of ages, and setting athrob the heart of generations. He was not one to lead a "forlorn hope;" to do lonely was not one oread a "rotorn hope; to do fonely battle against popular wrongs and abuses; to con-front the aroused passions and prejudices of a com-munity. His nature had not the elements for this as others have. He was shrinkingly averse from contention and opposition. He was a man for hal-cyon days. The very style of his oratory was adapted to such. Less the language of bold invective than of winning persuasion his lips loved, his heart prompted. He was the barque, of wondrous per-fectness and grace, nor less of high utility; passing, with coulinst training from the contraction. with costliest freight, from point to point of the shores it hugs, making each port and inlet glad by the beauty of its presence and the blessing of its gits; this, rather than the "man-of-war," ploughing, as if in joy, the stormy seas, and belching thunders on opposing foes. And yet who of us can ever foron opposing foes. And yet who or us can be get, what American heart can ever regard but with admiration and gratitude, the heroic nobleness with admiration and gratitude, the heroic nobleness with a care holy struggle; the cause? It was a grand moral spectacle, before which all else in the past than that of which it was the fitcoming forth from his retirement, which age, it may be supposed, had made desirable to him, and—with a strength and glow of intellect, an eloquence and orce of utterance, unsurpassed in his palm breaking away from party ties and associations; heedless of whatever charges of inconsistency with his political past might be preferred against him; heedless of every thing but the perils of his strug-gling country—giving himself, mind and soul, in efheedless of every time gling country—giving himself, mind and sout, in forts for her salvation; nor resting therefrom till he forts for his country, fortarested in death. Fortunate for his country, fortu-nate for him, that he lived to see these years of war lived to gather on them new and richer harvests of renown; to have twined for him, amidst their stormy sweep, wreaths of benediction outvying all tributes of the past,—wreaths that shall hang perennial on his tomb. Fortunate life,—full of action, full of ser-vice, full of honor, full of varied and brilliant and vice, full of bonor, full of varied and brilliant and beneficent achievement; closed before faculty gave sign of wane, while its evening was wearing scarcely less than the splendors of its noon; and crowned with a self-devoting patriotism, ay, and with a humanity, as beautiful,—giving the last plea of his eloquent lips for those, who, though their attitude had been that of focs, were in suffering and want; renewing, in that last public act, the exercise, in its worthiest spirit, of his earliest calling; and—making

THE CASE OF MISS HARRIS.

and all gitts of intellect, and all deeds of valor

The ease of Miss Harris, who killed Mr. Burroughs of promise of marriage, involves certain principles of considerable importance to society and civilization. Miss Harris is described by the local reporters in the most lively and particular manner, as being of "good figure, rather slight, with a well-formed head, dark hazel eye, fine black hair cut short and worn in curls—naturally intelligent, with a highly sensitive organization," and only nineteen years of age, though, we are told, she appears to be a few years older. Of Mr. Burroughs, whom this fascicars older. Of Mr. Burroughs, whom this fasci-nating creature has killed, we are in like style ined that he was a "gentleman of unblemished ls, of the highest honor, of remarkably fine form," thirty-five years of age, and only a few months married. Immediately after having shot Mr. Burroughs in the Treasury Building, Miss Harris stated, white citizens of Savannah. roughs in the Treasury Building, Miss Harris stated, and again two days afterward reiterated the statement, that he "had not seduced her," that he "had done her no harm," and she exclaimed with emphasis, "As God is my witness, I am virtuous!" In the personal statement she made after her arrest and committal, she stated that her sole reason for the bloody deed of Monday was, that Mr. Burroughs had broken a promise he had once made to marry her, and had married another woman. The rebutting evidence on this point is found in a statement made by some of the friends of the deceased in the slave more strongly than ever. Could any General of sense or success allow such a train of blacks or even white dependents to follow him, and thus her that he "could not reciprocate her attachment," some an encumbrance to his plans?

that he "could not marry her," and that upon one occasion, when Mr. Burroughs mentioned to Miss ignorant class of men in New York city who are not Harris the subject of his marriage, she told him she it to vote; and he is right. He would exclude

matter; but the first poet sang it; and every poet and poetess since the first has continued the strain; and we fear that the last wail of the last singer will be a

of twenty know these things to be so, all men and

defence and personal vengeance, the quicker shall we arrive at a state of things which must speedily prove its own cure.—New York Weekly Review.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

The lecture of Frederick Douglass, at Me ebanic Hall, on Wednesday evening, was, as we have before remarked, a wonderful exhibition of the enius and oratorical power of one belonging ace which has been kept in bondage in this try, on the ground, among other reasons which are alleged, that it is so far inferior to the whites as to be ncapable of rising to a dignity above that of servile labor. While many of the reasonings of Mr. Doug lass were put with remarkable force, and some o his descriptions-like that, for instance, of the vari ous elements which enter into the American hods New York city—exhibited great graphic power and keen application of thoughtful observations, there was, nevertheless, much in the lecture that would hardly be executed. hardly be commended as a correct statement of the case. This may readily be pardoned, in the minds of white men who dissent, from the fact that the speaker spoke from a peculiar standpoint, having once been a fugitive slave himself, and claiming to speak as one, and in behalf of an oppressed race.

Mr. Douglass quite naturally shares the senti-ments on the various phases of the negro question which, upon every conceivable occasion, are put forth as the single idea of Wendell Phillips, and both find themselves now somewhat at variance with Mr. Garrison, whose anti-slavery and even abolition rec is quite as good as that of either of them. The of men represented by the two former make no allowance, apparently, for the existing condition of things, while the men represented by the latter set standing in the way of the immediate elevation of the race in whose behalf it is their pleasure to labor many drawbacks and hindrances for which stern and uncontrollable circumstances are alone responsible There is the labor system of Louisiana, inaugurated by Gen. Banks, which was vehemently attacked by Mr. Douglass as a system of seridom little or no better than slavery itself. All the negro needs, he says is to be let alone. That will do more for the good of the race than your money or material aid. Now we do not undertake to possess the requisite knowledge of all the facts to defend the particular system of Ger Banks in all its details. Neither would we under take to deny that if peace could be suddenly restor be successfully re-opened,—that both the negro and the planter would flourish better under an entirely and undisputably free system of labor than under the and his text, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him"—
preaching then and there, unconsciously but blessedthing is not now the state of things, and will not be for
some time to come. The South is in a chaotic state.
beneath the sway and the interests of that "charity" which is more than all knowledge, and all faith,
in the army, and large numbers of negro women and children and men, incapacitated for labor, do require looking after, and some degree of tutelage. They cannot, if left alone, subject, in many cases, to visits, first from one army and then from another, flourish and improve as Mr. Douglass and Mr. Phil-The ease of Miss Harris, who killed Mr. Durrougus Washington on Monday last, for an alleged breach promise of marriage, involves certain principles and no doubt must, in many cases, be required to considerable importance to society and civilizations of any arms conquers not only the till the success of our arms conquers not only the enemy, but this necessity also. We do not believe that all our freedmen's aid movements could be dis-pensed with by either the simple letting alone of the negro or even an empty declaration of equality which, from the very nature of the case, cannot exist in fact for some time to come. If the negro can flourish if left to himself entirely, in the present condition of things, he can certainly do more than the ished whites themselves, for whom, here in Massachusetts, it has been found necessary, in the single instance of East Tennessee, to raise one hundred thousand

wade by some of the friends of the deceased in Washington, that he had frequently told Miss Harris or even white dependents to follow him, and thus be-

fit to vote; and he is right. He would exclude them by the test of a constitutional requirement that they be able to read the Constitution of the But whichever of these statements may be credited, the fact remains that the reason given by Miss Harris for her act of homicide was, that Mr. Burof Southern blacks in favor of whose enfranchise-Harris for her act of homicide was, that Mr. Burroughs had broken a promise of marriage.

Now, admitting for the sake of argument that this is true, the question arises how the whole matter is to be regarded, how the courts are to treat such cases, what are to be the verdict and the practice of society in the premises? May a woman, who has by any means been led to understand or fancy that a man intends to marry her, kill that man with impusive for any cause he do not marry her? And, in like manner, and on the same principle, may a like manner, and on the same principle, may a like manner, and on the same principle, may a like manner, and on the same principle, may a like manner, and on the same principle, may a like manner.

striction, applied to all alike. If this is his position, why does he find fault with Mr. Garrison for "bask-ing linke manner, and on the same principle, may a man kill a woman who fails to keep a promise she may have made to wed him? Are jilted lovers of either sex to have the delightful privilege of mutual butchery at will or convenience?

We suppose there are few men who have arrived at the age of thirty, without having at some time or other given at least a half dozen of Eve's daughters an idea that he might possibly marry them—without having murmured soft things which the fair creatures construed into protestations of devotion—without perhaps having been even so weak or indiscreet as to utter some word which an eager listener might distort into a promise that she might yet be wholly, wholly his. In like manner, there is no good-look ing girl of twenty summers who has not, by word or by smile, by billing or by cooing, given each one of at least a score of beaux the impression that she would yet confer on him infinite felicity by making him the sharer of her crinoline. This is certainly a most unhappy characteristic of gushing and youthful bearts, and deserves to be severely frowned upon and reprehended by all devout people of both sexes and of all ages, over forty; but yet we know it has been so from the beginning, and we greatly fear it will be so to the end of time—or at least until the arrival of Dr. Cumming's millennium.

Now, while every man of thirty and every woman

FEBRUARY 17.

COLORED PERSONS IN THE CITY PASSES. GER CARS.

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Pren Sin: There seems now to be but one opinion at the practise of ejecting indiscriminately all percent of color from our city cars. Judge Allian andousedly spoke the sentiments of the commany when the recent case before him, he declared this tender of the commany was a superior of the commany when the recent case before him, he declared this tender of the commany was a superior of the commany was tice against humanity and against a high e It ought, indeed, to be clear by this time It ought, indeed, to be clear by this time to the ple of our country everywhere, that responsa and infamy must eventually attach themsels any who, in a Christian community, dare will civil and humane treatment from a whole cle men on no other consideration than that and that the fostering of the public spirit w itself on coarseness, selfishness, brutality promptly discountenanced and frowned o regard the public weal, or even the J. Stuart Mill says the assurance of a high tion is to be found only where intractions peace rarely or never occur. Now, it is just possible, though we doubt it, that the F ly possible, though we doubt it, that the philosopher and the common sense of ma alike mistaken, and that it is a mark of civilization to court infraction of the pul and stimulate a spirit of ruffianism, by and stummate a spars of romainsm, by indulying wealthy corporations in the practice of inciting paid emissaries to menace, lay violent hands on, and kix our wives and children from conveyances upon which their right to ride is clear enough, as upon them in heanest white person is unquestioned.

We have been somewhat censured for not often

We have been somewhat consured for not offener appealing in this matter to our courts. You, is, have assured us that there, at least, we should find impartiality and justice: Surely you will not biase us if we doubt this assurance. We have been be nied the use of these cars under the most aggravating circumstances. We have seen aged and infirm persons; mothers, with tender babes in their sections. persons; mothers, with tender babes in their arms; innocent and harmless children, dearer to us that the apple of our eye; brave and patriotic soldiers, mained in the service of their country, ejected amid the curses and violence of the paid emissaries of those wealthy corporations, and in our sore grievance we have appealed to the courts of law, and here we have have been haftled and heaten, on the plainer is ha. a appealed to the courts of law, and here we have always been baffled and beaten, on the plainest inus of fact. The judges (and we mean no under discussion to the law) have seemed to handle and discuss our case as if it were one to be squared and settled by a mean and petty prejudice, and the property of the prop rather than by law and equity. We have, moreover, on numberless occasions, appealed to the occers of the public peace, and to the city's shame be aid, these officers generally acceptable Mayor, uniformly run, not t the assistance of us, the outraged party, but to the the assistance of us, the outraged party, but to the aid of the rude aggressors. It is really no wooder if, under a reasonable assurance of protection in the courts, and the ready aid of our Mayor's poice, then car men should grow bold and insolent in their dif-

Why should not our city authorities have instruct. ed the officers of police to interfere occasionally in our behalf, rather than always in behalf of the ag sors, and thus put upon them the onus

gressors, and thus put upon them the onus probable of vindicating their tyrannical rules?

But public sentiment, as we have said, now hind demands a change. It is, therefore, proper that the public should know what we, the aggreed party, ask. We do not claim to speak for others-for the are among us, as among you, honest differences of opinion. But in speaking for ourselves, we may possibly speak for a large and influential class of ored persons, who, though possessing cultiintelligence and worth, are not prominent in matters of this kind, and are not usually heard at public nectings.

Let us say, then, that we indignantly reject the

proposal to place on our highways and thoroughfors a labelled negro pew, and we call upon the colored men and women of the city to join us in this protest gainst the inflicting upon us of any such mark of

gradation.

The separate car would be but an exhibition of the mean spirit of caste, unsatisfactory and humiliating alike to all classes in the community; it would ten to foster the very discrimination, and fan the dyin embers of that senseless prejudice which all wo ain see removed. Mark the language of Ju Allison in the case already referred to: not done, (i. e., the putting on of separate cars.) public tentiment will soon break down the present obstruction, and admit all." That is, keep off these separate can and all discrimination will soon cease. This is the opinion of one who is accustomed to weighing endence, and knows whereof he affirms.

Men of color! self-respect before convenience oun the proscribed or "Jim Crow" car as you hun the proscribed or yould any other device for fastening upon us a man

would any other device for lastening upon us a mark
of degradation, and for bolstering up the miserable
idea of our inferiority.

Surely, there is nothing unreasonable in the demand that all color distinction shall immediately cease, on our city passenger railways. New York abelled cars,) with a colored population of over twenty thousand, makes no discrimination as to colo whatever. That is, the city which has a larger for on than any other on gave the ultra Seymour-McClellan pro-slavery a majority of over thirty-five thou accords her twenty thousand colored men and wo nen the right to ride unquestioned in all her public conveyances; while Philadelphia, which gave tea thousand majority and upwards for the Republican icket, meanly excludes her twenty-eight thousan blacks from most of her public conveyances. Cincinnati, which is on the boundary between slav ry and freedom, and which has a large colored population, all colored females ride unquestioned in the city cars. In a word, the general pract unquestioned facilities in city travel, Philadelphi being the marked exception. We do not, however forget to applaud the entire abolition of color div tinction on the Darby and on the Fifth and sat street lines, though some of the conductors on the are quite officious towards colored passengers, and have several times, we are credibly informed, usbert into crowded cars uncouth and uncleanly black three or four at once, with the evident purpose creating a feeling against the new arrangement.

The directors of the new Union (Serent as

Ninth-street) line have informed us that they have no regulations on the subject, yet their co daily reject, insult, and sometimes assault the man respectable of colored persons. We hope to see the terly unwarranted ruffianism soon stopped.

Even in the darkest days of his sorrowful history utterly unwarranted rut

the colored man has felt assured that the discrimination against him must some day cease; and we be a support of the color that an innate faith in the ultimate triumph ustice tells the white man and the black man alle that the foul spirit of caste must soon disapp especially under the force of our democratic insint tions. Why then delay by a step in the duk, (a the running of the proscribed or "Jim Cro" car certainly would be,) what we all know must som

But while we ask a change that shall give to a simply what is accorded to others-nothing less-we would at the same time lation for the peremptory exclusi persons, without regard to color, on a

persons, without regard to cool, cleanliness of person or other repulsive labit.

EBENEZER D. BASETT,

Principal of Colored High Schol.

WILLIAM J. ALSTON,

Rector of St. Thomas's Charl. Philadelphia, Jan. 12, 1865.

GAS FIXTURES. THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends the public, that (owing to ill health) he has be bliged to leave his situation at Mesers. H. B. Starw. Co's, now Mesers. Shreve, Stanwood & Co's, where his een employed for the last fourteen years, the work his on employed for the last fourteen years, the work his on heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared all manner of

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTUEES, jobbing on GAS FIXTURES, in the most careful manner. New Fixtures armined as put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drops cleaned, leak stepped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasses of all his furnished at short notice. Also, Gas Burars of all his approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Paris. Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut Shop under the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut the fut the Maribore' Hotel. Orders may be fut the fut the

BOARDING.

BOARDING.

M. RS. GIAGER wishes to inform her friends and in public, that she has taken house 41 Washington for Cambridgeport, where she can accommodate a few besters or lodgers. References exchanged.

Dec. 2.

THE EVE

221 WASHI ROBERT

TERMS Four od lars, if pays All romi relating to the M Advertis times at ten centions nserted on reas The Age sylvania, Ohio authorized to re The foll

mittee, but aper, viz :-- W UND JACKSON, WM. LLOY

VO \$1

Of an interviole church office War and M HEADQUAR IN TE Thursday E On the eve January, 1865 scent met, by with Edwin M or-General Sl matters relatin Georgia, to wi 1. William . in Savannah; by will of his years pastor of nah, numberin

average congre property below white,) worth

vannah; slave dom for elever African Bapti two persons; and dollars, be 3. Ulysses L in Grahamsvill Union army en Henderson, S. Henderson, S. Baptist Church hundred; Chu dollars, belong about eight year 4. Willi in Savannah ; when his maste will; pastor of pal Church, (o vannah,) cong and sixty mem twenty thousar gregation; bee a member of G 5. Charles 1

congregation (6. William (Wills county, forces freed momerly U. S. Toombs; local Church, (Andr 7. James Hi an county, Ge Union army co of Savannah; in Wilkes coun preacher of the drew's Chapel;

9. Garrison
in Granville ex

Liberty county cipated by will cal preacher, in

eight years age paying one tho an ordained m his health failir tion; has been 10. James A. Savannah; free the 1st Baptist Abraham Bu Bryan county, ago, when he b lars; has been 12. Arthur I in Liberty cou the Union army vannah, and is Church; has be 13. Alexande born in Savant ad African Bi

Savannah; slav me;" owned by Deacon in the 3 Charleston, Sou having purchase President of the Saint Stephen Church in Sava years; the cor dred persons; ten thousand de 16. Adolphus born in Savann ter of the Miss ville, congregat hundred person

two years. 17. Jacob Go Marion, South army freed me Methodist prea-class leader, and 1836. 18. John Joh Bryan county, Union army crecin, of Savann Andrew's Chap

19. Robert N
in Wilkes count
Union army co

Union army co Wetter, Savann Chapel—for nin 20. James L. Baltimore, Mar-der of the Met tionary to the I seven years in South.

present to express the matters of as follows:—
First. State

gard to the Accoln's Proclama colored people i Answer. So oln's Proclamat